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THE FALISCANS
IN
PREHISTORIC TIMES

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IN
PREHISTORIC TIMES

BY

LOVISE ADAMS HOLLAND

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WITHDRAWN

TO THE MEMORY

OF

C. DENSMORE CURTIS

A PATIENT HELPER

A MERRY COMRADE

A WELL-LOVED FRIEND

PREFACE

COMPLETE *official publications are still lacking for Caere, the southernmost of the great coastal cities in Etruria, and for Veii whose gigantic shadow lies over the inland districts of the lower Tiber. While this remains true it is rash to attempt a special study of a minor people like the Faliscans who developed under the influence of those very centers. To wait for perfect conditions under which to attack any archaeological problem, however, would mean permanent paralysis. So I trust I shall not seem too presumptuous in offering this monograph which is the product of a year's residence at the American Academy in Rome. Because of the shortness of the time at my disposal for studying the material at first hand, I have deliberately neglected the objects known to be imported and have concentrated on the local products of the early period when the Faliscans were in process of formation as a distinct people. The Red Figure pottery and the temple*

terracottas of later times I leave to those better instructed and perhaps less fatally fascinated than I have been for the last eight years by the problems of the early Iron Age.

My grateful acknowledgements are due to the staff of the Academy, and especially to Professor Tenney Frank at whose suggestion the study was undertaken and who has given me the benefit of his criticism. I alone am responsible for the blunders which may remain in spite of that. I wish also to record my debt to Dr. Leicester B. Holland for help with maps and drawings. The photographs of vases which accompany the text are all made from specimens in the University Museum in Philadelphia. For permission to publish these and for the privilege of access to the remarkably complete collection and library of the Museum, I have to thank the director, Dr. George Byron Gordon, whose kindness has made it possible to finish my work after returning to America. It is hardly necessary to say that in the Italian museums I met with the same friendly reception which has always been extended to American students in Rome.

LOUISE ADAMS HOLLAND.

Philadelphia, June 1925.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. J. A. = American Journal of Archaeology.
Ann. Arch. Anth. = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.
B. S. R. = Papers of the British School in Rome.
Bull. Comm. = Bullettino della Commissione Comunale di Roma.
Bull. Inst. = Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.
Bull. Pal. = Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana.
C. I. E. = Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum, Danielsson and Herbig, 1912.
Mem. Am. Ac. = Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.
Mem. Pont. Acc. = Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana.
Mon. Am. Acad. = Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome.
Mon. Ant. = Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
Not. Sc. = Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.
Röm. Mitt. = Römische Mitteilungen.

Such frequent reference has been made to some works that they are designated by the name of the author only. Thus,

Della Seta = Museo della Villa di Papa Giulio, Rome 1917, Alessandro Della Seta.
Montelius = Civilisation Primitive en Italie, Stockholm 1895, Oscar Montelius.
Von Duhn = Italische Gräberkunde, 1924, F. Von Duhn.

I.

THE AGER FALISCUS AND ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS.

It is the fashion to speak of the Etruscans as the great riddle of Italy. They are perhaps the most picturesque of the problems concerned with the early history of the peninsula, but after all are far from being alone in their mystery. We do not know with certainty who the Etruscans were, or where they came from, but we know the outline of their story from the time when their greatest influence begins. We possess no greater knowledge about any of their neighbors, even the Romans themselves; the origin of Umbrian and Sabine is quite as dark to those sufficiently interested in their obscurer fortunes to inquire, and so it is with lesser peoples who, living on the edges of civilizations greater than their own, were always overshadowed and eventually became absorbed by others. Northeast of Rome, on the line later followed by the Via Flaminia, were two peoples of this order, the Capenates and the Faliscans.

Their lands are known by their names and have, so far as we know, neither territorial names nor definite borders. South of them lay the territory controlled by Veii, a powerful and mysterious city; and north of them, the still more powerful and mysterious Ciminian Mount

with its dense forest. On the east the Tiber fluted the edges of their land in its windings, and on the west an avenue to the sea and the great coastal cities opened between the lakes of Vico and Bracciano. Between these crater lakes and the curve of the Tiber lies a plain dominated in its southern part by Mount Soracte and intersected by numerous minor streams. Most of these, like the Fosso di Rustico which rises close to the Ciminian Mount and bounds the district on the north, are not dignified by the name of river. A system of streams called the Treia covers the central part of the plain and largely determines its general character (see plate II). Its waters have etched in the tufa a fan-shaped group of valleys, most of which converge near Cività Castellana (Falerii Veteres) about five miles from the confluence of the Treia and the Tiber. South of Soracte the chief stream is the Gramiccia on whose banks Capena was situated [1]. The volcanic rock which composes the district is for the most part soft, and its surface is deeply gashed by ravines which the water courses have carved themselves. Here and there the deep erosion has left exposed beds of good clay which have played an important part in local industry. Between the gorges, and sharply contrasted with their wild and picturesque

[1] A detailed treatment of topographical questions seems out of place in a discussion for the purposes of which historical names are of almost no importance. For the location of Capena, see *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 278 ff.; Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, page 321; Ashby, *Mem. Pont. Acc.* I, 2, p. 131 ff. For Faliscan topography, see *C. I. E.* II. II. 1, page 5 (with map); Deecke, *Die Falisker*, pages 29 ff. (with map); Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria, Mon. Am. Acad.* II, pp. 40-45. The identity of Cività Castellana and Falerii Veteres is unquestioned, but most of the Faliscan and Capenate sites have not been certainly identified with any ancient towns and so are referred to by their modern names.

gloom, are stretches of rolling fields. Where two streams meet, they leave between their chasms a natural fortress protected by steep cliffs. Such are the sites of Narce, Mazzano, and Cività Castellana.

The Faliscans, a folk supposedly akin to the Latins, since they spoke a Latinic dialect, controlled the northern part of this district. The boundary between them and the Capenates is very vaguely marked [2] and the two peoples share many elements in a civilization in which Latin, Sabine, Umbrian, and Etruscan influences compete for supremacy. Deecke estimates for the Ager Faliscus an extent of 400 square kilometres. This calculation which takes the Ricano as the southern boundary was made before the excavations of Narce and Mazzano. If these towns are included, the area is increased by approximately one tenth [3].

In spite of the fact that no village or necropolis earlier than the Iron Age has been found in the district, we have enough evidence to show that human occupation began there at least as early as the Neolithic Period [4]. The ground has been too often ploughed and the caves have been too steadily in use to make surprising the absence of such remains as we find, for instance, in the valley of the Vibrata east of the Apennines, where there is a continuous record from the Neolithic to the Iron Age[5]. Geologically the Ager Faliscus lends itself admirably to the uses of primitive man. The tributaries of

[2] *Museo di Villa Giulia*, page 321; *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 265.

[3] Deecke's calculation (*o. c.*, page 2) is taken over into the *C. I. E.*

[4] Rellini, *Cavernette e Ripari Preistorici nell'Agro Falisco*, *Mon. Ant.* XXVI, 1920, col. 110, 149.

[5] Museo Preistorico in Rome; Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages of Italy*, page 278; Colini, *Bull. Pal.* XXXII; XXXIII; XXXIV; 1906-1908.

the Tiber as they cut through its soft tufa plateau into the chalky clay below run through gullies whose steep banks are lined with natural caverns. Many of these caves are still in service, if no longer as dwellings or workshops, at least as stables and pig pens, and their practical uses in the present have sadly confused the historical evidence they had once to offer. Still others, always shallow, are weathered away almost completely, or so modified by the continued action of the ground waters to which they owe their existence that the strata containing signs of human industry have disappeared[6]. The interest in prehistoric research was unfortunately late in developing, and in Central Italy as elsewhere no systematic investigations were made until much of the evidence had been destroyed by natural processes or by men who did not realize the scientific value of articles which brought no price in the antiquity market[7]. The earliest scientific search for prehistoric remains in the Faliscan Territory was conducted by Pasqui, Cozza and Mengarelli about twenty years ago. The results of their study were not published until Rellini made his thorough examination of some Stone Age caverns in the neighborhood of Corchiano and included a discussion of their work in his own report [8].

[6] Rellini *o. c.*, col. 7, 25, 110.

[7] Rellini (*o. c.* col. 114) in speaking of Nepi on the Faliscan border, says, "L'abbondanza di coteste vestigia indica che nei dintorni di Nepi dovettero esistere degli abitati neolitici all'aperto, e tombe d'età neolitica ed è molto probabile che ricerche metodiche condotte in passato, quando le vestigia si segnalavano con più frequenza sarebbero state fruttuose". For the Ager Faliscus itself, see *ibid.*, col. 110; for Veii, col. 117.

[8] *O. c.* cols. 81 ff. and notes. Corchiano is one of the most northerly Faliscan sites. It has been identified with ancient Fescennium. *Röm. Mitth.* 1887, pages 25 f. with a good plan of Corchiano in Plate III.

Scattered traces of the Stone Age have always been plentiful there to judge from the frequency with which flint arrow heads were used as amulets in the Iron Age [9], and from the number of sporadic finds made in modern times of stone implements. Some paleolithic forms occur, for instance, flints of Mousterien types [10], but since rough Mousterien flakes continue to be used in eneolithic times [11], they are of no use in dating unless found in a clearly stratified deposit. In three places Rellini discovered layers without pottery, but these were all " officine ", that is, places marked by heaps of discarded pieces as workshops for the manufacture of implements, so that the absence of potsherds may mean nothing [12]. Since pottery was found in the lowest stratum of other deposits examined, they indicate nothing earlier than the Neolithic [13].

Material clearly to be dated in the Neolithic Age is unfortunately scanty. Pottery of the Bronze and Iron Ages was found in caverns near Cività Castellana and mistakenly believed by Pasqui to be coeval with stone and flint implements found in the same places. Rellini's specimens of neolithic pottery are few but important as indicating connection between the Faliscan region and other neolithic stations. One class is black in fracture and on the surface is a light reddish color spotted by imperfect firing. This is typical of the vases from neolithic huts of Reggio-Emilia and the Valle della

[9] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 361 ff.

[10] *Mon. Ant.* XXVI, col. 10,26 f. On the Mousterien in general, see Peet, *o. c.*, page 28.

[11] Peet, *o. c.* page 240. For the backward character of the Faliscan region, see *Bull. Pal.* XXXIII, 1907, page 103.

[12] *Mon. Ant.* XXVI., col. 10 and 108; col. 18.

[13] For example, see *Mon. Ant.* XXVI, col. 17.

Vibrata. The favorite form of the spherical jar with cylindrical neck is common in Italy at this time [14]. One in the Museo Preistorico in Rome (No. 26548) from the neolithic village of Belvedere is identical with a Faliscan example published by Rellini in *Mon. Ant.* XXVI, figure 13. One fragment survives from a jar which was decorated while the clay was still soft by a row of finger impressions around the rim [15]. This also is similar to a specimen from the Vibrata valley and to one from the Apuan Alps [16]. Some large vases also of very rough fabric are slightly better baked so that the reddish color extends nearly all the way through the thick walls, leaving only a thin line of grey unreached by the heat [17]. Ring handles occur as well as those of the " tongue " type. This class of pottery is exactly like some vases from the Vibrata valley [18]. I have not found examples of incised decoration on Stone Age vases in the Faliscan territory, though this type of ornament is known elsewhere at that period [19] and it is by no means safe to infer from the limited number of fragments known that it was not used here as well. It happens that what little decorated ware has been found so far shows only primitive relief motifs. The spiral and meander so common

[14] Peet, *o. c.*, pages 116 f.

[15] For this type of ornament, see Peet, *o. c.* pages 59 ff. ; Rellini, *o. c.*, col. 59. fig. 14.

[16] The Vibrata example is now in the Museo Preistorico, It was published by Colini, *Bull. Pal.* XXXII, plate VIII, 1. See *Mon. Ant.* XXVI., col. 59.

[17] Rellini *o. c.*, col. 60.

[18] Museo Preistorico, nos. 26551, 26557 ; Colini, *Bull. Pal.* XXXIII, 1907, page 113 ; Rellini, *o. c.* col. 61 ; and for Stone Age handles in general, see Peet, *o. c.*, page 59.

[19] Peet, *o. c.*, page 50.

in later pottery of the region are completely absent in the Neolithic Period [20].

Only one hut foundation of the Neolithic Age is reported. It was found near Cività Castellana unfortunately not by an archaeologist [21]. The hut was backed against a tufa rock and surrounded by a circle of rough stones. The fire-place, 60 centimetres square, was sunk in the middle of the floor. The area once covered by the hut contained burnt remains from the fire-place, animal teeth, and many flint fragments, including five arrow heads which mark the deposit as late neolithic at the earliest [22].

Altogether, the neolithic discoveries in the Ager Faliscus are few, but they indicate that the same sort of culture prevailed here as in the rest of the Italian peninsula during the same epoch. The striking uniformity of essential features throughout Italy has been taken as evidence that the same people had spread all through the country [23] after their arrival had ended the Paleolithic Age [24]. The only sign of division between the Faliscans and the people of the surrounding regions is furnished by the distribution of axes of polished green stone which seem to indicate that the Ciminian was a real barrier, since they are numerous on one side of the mountain and rarely occur on the other [25].

The neolithic inhabitants knew the use of pottery

[20] *Ibid.*, page 268.

[21] *Bull. Pal.* 1897, page 154.

[22] Pigorini, *Gli Abitanti Primitivi dell'Italia*, 1910, page 11 and note 3; Peet, *o. c.*, page 164.

[23] Peet, *o. c.*, pages 165 ff.; page 103.

[24] Pigorini, *o. c.*, page 6.

[25] *Mon. Ant.* XXVI, col. 113; Deecke, *o. c.*, pages 6 ff.; Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* I, page 144.

when they came [26]. They did not depend entirely on natural shelters as their predecessors had, but, though the use of caves as dwellings was by no means completely abandoned, they built in the open semi-subterranean huts of circular or elliptical plan. They had definite funeral rites [27] which show some sort of belief in a life, however shadowy, beyond the grave, since the dead were buried with the implements necessary to their earthly existence. The commonest form of grave is the fossa or trench in which the body rests almost invariably on the side and in a contracted position. Caverns occasionally served as burial chambers, but they were not artificially hewn for this purpose until the next stage of civilization [28], called the eneolithic or cyprolithic period, when the use of copper was known.

Many of the finds recorded from the neighborhood of Corchiano undoubtedly belong to the Eneolithic Age and show the Faliscan region to share the culture which especially flourished in southern Italy [29]. Some eneolithic axes from the Faliscan district are preserved in the Museo Preistorico [30]. The pottery classed as eneolithic continues into the Bronze Age and so is in some cases of doubtful date. [31]. It is still rough, but the walls are thinner than in the older ware. The color is reddish or chestnut brown. Sometimes it is covered with a slip of better clay and polished with a stick. The

[26] Pigorini, *o. c.*, pages 5 ff.; Peet, *o. c.*, page 165; and for general characteristics of the neolithic culture, Colini, *Bull. Pal.* XXXIII, 1907, page 101.

[27] Peet, *o. c.*, pages 113 ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, page 117, note 2.

[29] Rellini, *o. c.*, col. 118.

[30] *Bull. Pal.* 1896, page 173.

[31] Rellini, *o. c.*, col. 61 ff.

rite of inhumation continues and trench graves have been found near Viterbo and in the Tiber valley at Poggio Aquilone in the province of Perugia [32]. Though rock-cut tombs are in use from this time on, no central Italian examples of eneolithic date have been found north of Latium [33]. In both types of tomb the extended position customary in later inhumations occurs, but since the position of the skeleton was not always noted at the time of discovery it is impossible to say whether this is more frequent in the Eneolithic Age than the contraction characteristic of neolithic burials. Unfortunately there have been no graves of the epoch discovered within the Faliscan district and we can say nothing about the local burial customs except by inference from other places in central Italy where the pottery and implements correspond to the types which occur among the Faliscans.

On the Age of Bronze we have almost less satisfactory information than on the preceding period. Evidence from the Ager Faliscus is particularly scanty [34]. So we are again driven to draw inferences from other places. This is always a dangerous method but in this case it seems justified to some extent by the singularly clear-cut characteristics of the Italian Bronze Age as we know it elsewhere, and by the significance of the few discoveries which have been made here.

The Bronze Age of northern Italy has, as is now well known, three typical manifestations, two of which are due probably to invaders from the north and the third

[32] *Bull. Pal.* XXIX, 1903, page 214; Peet, *o. c.*, page 192.

[33] Peet, *o. c.*, pages 192, 249.

[34] *Bull. Pal.* XXIX, 1903, pages 208, 220. It may be that this region was very thinly settled up to the Iron Age. The Ciminian forests may have extended to the Tiber.

to survivors from the neolithic inhabitants. The first type of culture is represented by the Lake Dwellings whose inhabitants are supposedly a northern people [35]. Their burial rite was probably cremation, but no cemeteries are known for the earliest stations [36]. Their characteristic pottery is of dark-colored paste with some examples of a rougher type in reddish grey [37]. Handles vary to include the axe, hammer, and ribbon forms. The shapes used in the pottery of the Lake Dwellings differ from the neolithic and the ware is noticeably inferior technically.

Apparently a people akin to the Lake Dwellers came from the Danube Valley and established the Terramara settlements which show the second type of Bronze Age culture [38]. Their burial rite is definitively known to have been cremation. The urns used in graves have at first no fixed form, but later approach the biconical type [39]. Again the pottery is rougher than the neolithic ware and the prevailing color a brownish black. All the vases are still hand made. Simple and crude geometric motifs, but no human, animal, or flower forms occur in the decoration [40]. Relief ornament of a primitive sort is fairly common and so are deep furrows, but sharp incision is rare [41]. In the manufacture of bronzes casting is used, but not hammering [42].

[35] Peet, *o. c.*, pages 317, 492 f.; Von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, page 116.

[36] *Ibid.* page 327.

[37] *Ibid.*, pages 290, 293, 294, 298-304, and plate III.

[38] *Ibid.*, page 492 ff., especially page 510; Pigorini, *Gli Abitanti* etc., pages 30 f.; *Bull. Pal.* XXIX, 1903, page 201; Von Duhn, pages 118 ff.

[39] Peet, *o. c.*, page 369.

[40] Pigorini, *Gli Abitanti* etc., page 31.

[41] Peet, *o. c.*, pages 358 ff.; page 365.

[42] *Ibid.*, page 362. For typical axes, knives, and swords, see in the same work pages 344 ff.

Traces of another type of Bronze Age civilization have been left behind by a people who lived in caves and hut villages such as existed in the Stone Age. These people, it seems safe to suppose, are the direct descendants of the earlier inhabitants, and preserve some of their ancestral traditions long after falling under the influence of the more advanced northerners. The most striking difference of customs is in the disposal of the dead. They used the rite of inhumation as their forebears had, instead of burning the bodies after the manner of the folk of the Terramara. One of their cemeteries has come to light at Povegliano near Verona [43]. Naturally enough the bronzes show close affinities with those of the Terremare [44] from which the older population probably learned the use of metal. Their pottery also has much in common with the new style and we find them using black or very dark brown ware decorated in relief or with blunt-point incision [45]. The handle types include, beside the new forms (hammer or horned shapes), some typical of the Neolithic Age [46]. In one place near Bologna the spiral and a simple meander occur among the motifs used in incised decoration [47]. Both these ornaments are common in the Iron Age and are typical of Southern Italy in the earlier period.

In Southern Italy and on the Adriatic coast (particularly in the Valle della Vibrata), the Bronze Age seems developed from the Neolithic without change of population, but through the influence of contact with the Ter-

[43] Museo Preistorico; Peet, *o. c.*, pages 346, 385; Montelius, *Civ. Prim.*, B, page 200 and plate 37; Von Duhn, p. 20.

[44] Peet, *o. c.*, page 386.

[45] *Ibid.*, page 374.

[46] *Ibid.*, page 375.

[47] *Ibid.*, pages 376 ff.

ramara settlements and perhaps with other peoples outside the peninsula [48]. The dead were buried in trenches or in rock-cut tombs. Some of the pottery is red or greyish in fracture but has a polished black surface, while another sort which is dark in fracture is burnt red on the exterior. The pottery with black surface is of great value in establishing chronology. It is unknown in the true Neolithic Age and is commonest where Terramara influence penetrated [49]. In the decoration of vases we find the characteristic " dotted band " technique, and white-filled incision due probably to West Balkan influence. There are also the spiral and the meander which before the Iron Age are almost never found in Italy outside of the southern and eastern districts [50]. A type of decoration interesting because of its subsequent importance in Central Italy is that called by the Italians " all'incavo ", in which the design is countersunk as if an inlay of some other material were to be applied. A simple and undeveloped form of this style occurs in the Bronze Age pottery of the south [51]. Again the bronzes show the influence of the Terramara, particularly in dagger forms [52].

The only indication of direct immigration of Terramara people into the south is the famous station near Taranto [53]. Though the incineration cemetery at Monte Timmari shows that the strain lasted and preserved its distinct character into the Iron Age, the influence of the invader

[48] *Ibid.*, pages 418 ff.; Von Duhn, p. 33.

[49] Colini, *Bull. Pal.* XXXIII, 1907, pages 127 f.

[50] Peet, *o. c.*, pages 416 ff.

[51] *Bull. Pal.* XXXIII, 1907, page 122.

[52] Peet, *o. c.* page 401.

[53] Pigorini, *Gli Abitanti* etc., page 45; Quagliati e Ridola, *Mon. Ant.* XVI, Part I; Peet, *o. c.*, page 426.

was not strong in the southern part of the peninsula where the neolithic element predominated [54]. In the north, as we have seen, there was also a combination of the two peoples, but there, though the descendants of the Stone Age continued to occupy their huts and caves and to develop under the influence of the invaders, the character of the culture was decided by the newcomers from beyond the Alps.

We should expect to find in Central Italy some combination of the two strains which are found elsewhere in the peninsula. This seems to be the case, but the connections with the south and east appear stronger than with the north, and probably there was no actual infiltration of Terramara people before the end of the Bronze Age. The caves of the Faliscan district examined by Rellini have produced early Bronze Age pottery in both the reddish and the black wares [55]. The black is the same sort of prehistoric bucchero which is characteristic of Southern and Central Italy at this time. In some cases the surface has fired to an ashy color with reddish spots. The handles show more resemblance to the forms of the southern sites and of the Vibrata valley than to those of the region of the Po. The commonest form is a simple ring [56]. A cylindrical handle applied horizontally recalls the neolithic pottery of the Vibrata district. The handle "a rocchetta" is exactly similar to some of Latrónico and the southern Bronze Age deposits in general. For the most part the vases were found in such a fragmentary condition that only the handles preserved a definite type, but one interesting form for which I find

[54] *Mon. Ant.* XVI. Part I; *Not. Sc.* 1900, page 345; Peet, *o. c.*, page 424.

[55] *Mon. Ant.* XXVI, col. 64, 68, 71.

[56] *Ibid.*, col. 75.

no close parallel has survived. This is a large flat dish on a rudimentary foot. It has one ring handle flattened into a " saddle " form, and in three places the lip of the dish is enlarged to balance the projection of the handle [57]. The decoration of vases is again of two kinds, modelled in relief or incised. Rellini dismisses as unimportant two or three fragments which show incised designs. One has blunt-point incision in dog-tooth and waved line patterns (*Mon. Ant.* XXVI, fig. 26), and one for which no illustration is given is incised with " lines ". He classes as belonging probably to the beginning of the Iron Age two interesting bits from near Cività Castellana. One of these shows a spiral and one a meander [58]. The designs are drawn in double lines with cross cuts filling the space between them. This looks like a development of the neolithic " dotted band " style which survives into the Bronze Age in the Marche and especially in the huts of the Vibrata district where it begins later than it does farther south [59]. Relief ornament in the shape of cords, modelled or applied and then slashed or dented (*Mon. Ant.* XXVI, fig. 23, 24, 25), again recalls the neolithic ware of the Vibrata valley [60]. A Bronze Age hut of Latrónico produced a specimen with modelled relief similar to that shown by Rellini (*op. cit.*, fig. 29, 30). Another class of decoration shows moulded bosses [61]. This style is not infrequent in the pottery of the Terremare. A specimen of the same sort as the Faliscan was found at Titignano near Orvieto and is now in the Museo Preistorico in Rome. It is not surprising to find

[57] *Ibid.*, fig. 21, 22.
[58] *Ibid.*, col. 98 with note 2; col. 99, note 1; fig. 31, 32.
[59] Colini, *Bull. Pal.* XXXIII, 1907, pages 120 f.
[60] Rellini, *o. c.*, col. 71 ff.
[61] *Ibid.*, col. 68 f.; fig. 27.

signs of connection between settlements along the Tiber valley. Early axes with upturned edges which come from sporadic finds in the Faliscan territory form another link with Orvieto. They are similar also to specimens discovered near Siena, at Allumiere, Segni, Sezze, and near Rocca di Papa, in the Alban Hills [62]. Other bronze implements and arms show traces of the Terramara influence. How strong this influence may have been it is hardly possible to judge on the basis of our scanty knowledge of the Bronze Age in Latium and Etruria.

In spite of the limitations of our present information, we may say that all the indications so far discovered point clearly to these conclusions : that whatever people [63] occupied the Faliscan district in the Bronze Age they were in closer touch with the south than with the Terremare, though they probably owed their metals to the northern connection ; that they probably belonged like the people of the Vibrata valley to the neolithic population which developed under the influence of the northerners but continued to cling to its own traditions at the same time ; that the northern connection ran east of the Ciminian along the line of the Tiber. As to the burial rite we lack local evidence, but the probabilities are strongly in favor of inhumation, because all the Bronze Age burials found in Central Italy are of this type, because the Faliscan pottery shows closest connection with the peoples who practised inhumation, and because this rite becomes dominant early in the Faliscan Iron Age. Certainly enough has been discovered to overthrow the old theory that the earliest inhabitants of the region were pile-dwell-

[62] *Bull. Pal.* XXIX, 1903, page 215.

[63] See note 34.

ers closely akin to the northern stock [64]. Subsequent excavations may overturn the present hypothesis as well, but as far as we can now see, no people of the Terramara stock appeared in this region until some time after the beginning of the Iron Age.

[64] Deecke, *o. c.*, page 61.

II.

CREMATION BURIALS OF THE FALISCAN IRON AGE

Period[1] I

The discovery of Iron Age cemeteries in the Faliscan district has given us much more definite evidence for this period than we possess for those preceding it. Yet from the early Iron Age there is not much material either

[1] Anything more than an approximate dating in years (or sometimes even in centuries) is impossible in the present inexact state of knowledge about Italian archaeology. Even in the comparatively rare cases where imported objects can be accurately dated it is often impossible to use them as exact indications since we do not know by what devious ways they reached their final places or how long they were kept before they were buried. Much more serious attention to the development of local styles is necessary to establish a chronology. The duration of the various stages of the Iron Age is still a matter of dispute. (Colini, *Not. Sc.* 1914, pages 357 ff., especially page 361; Karo, *Röm. Mitth.* 1920, pages 106 ff., especially pages 111, 112). In dealing with the Faliscans I have made for convenience the following divisions:

Period I. *Pozzi* only. Pottery all handmade and of dark impasto. No imports.

Period II. *Pozzi* and *fosse*. Introduction of local wheel-made pottery and copper-red ware. Egyptianizing figurines and imported beads. Beginning of local painted pottery.

Period III. So-called orientalizing period. *Fossa con loculo, camera*, later cremation tombs. Imported vases and local imitations of them.

in the Ager Faliscus itself [2] or in the districts immediately surrounding it. Capena [3], Nepi [4], and Sutri [5] have produced little. The most ancient Faliscan graves so far discovered are not of the most primitive cremation type, though their poverty makes them look at first glance older than they really are. The Faliscan Territory lies on the borders of two Iron Age regions which have much in common and yet have enough differences to mark them as belonging to two distinct groups, the Tuscan and the Latian [6]. The Tuscan grave of the First Iron Age is illustrated by thousands of examples from Caere, Tarquinii, and the cities farther north [7]. It is in the form of a pit (*pozzo*) sunk in the ground and, where the nature of the soil demands it, lined with stones to protect the contents against the crumbling of the sides. There are many local peculiarities in the furniture but a tomb of this kind usually produces some variant of the Villanovan ossuary [8] covered by an inverted dish or by a hel-

It is important to remember that the first period of the Faliscan Iron Age is later than the first period in some other places, the Etruscan coast, for example, or the Alban Hills. See *Della Seta*, page 43.

[2] *Della Seta*, page 43.

[3] In Capena the earliest tombs are of the eighth century apparently. There is only one *pozzo* and that is not very archaic. See Paribeni, *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 484.

[4] *Della Seta*, page 106; *Not. Sc.* 1910, page 215.

[5] For typical report on Sutri, see *Not. Sc.* 1912, page 343.

[6] The Villanovan was not responsible for Latian culture and did not influence it until the later stages. Peet, *Ann. Arch. Anth.* II, 1909, page 191.

[7] For typical Tuscan graves, see *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 53, figs. 7, 8; Von Duhn, pages 208 ff.

[8] A water jar of dark impasto roughly described as consisting of two truncated cones joined at their bases with one or two handles set on at the line of greatest circumference. The jar is often decorated with incised geometric designs. For example see *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 72 b.

met. Occasionally a hut urn takes the place of the Villanovan jar. With the ossuary are found accessory vases handmade of dark impasto [9], personal ornaments, and sometimes arms and trappings for horses. The same general forms of pit tomb are typical of Latium also in the first period of the Iron Age [10], but there the ossuary is either a hut urn or a jar of ovoid or spheroid shape. Conspicuously frequent among the accessory vases are those with network ornament in relief, and the so-called " braziers " or " incense burners ". Personal ornaments and articles of metal are rarer than in Etruria.

The oldest Faliscan graves belong in neither of these groups but are linked with both by certain common elements. Of the known examples none is old enough to be contemporary with the most ancient pozzi of Latium and Etruria [11]. The form of the tomb is the same as in other places where the pozzo occurs, except for one peculiarity which appears in the later examples. Besides the main shaft these have niches for the tomb furniture [12]. This seems a natural development where the accessories are numerous, but the fossa grave may have suggested it. On the other side of the Tiber pit tombs are not rich enough to be overcrowded and so to demand such expansion. Like the Latian tombs the Faliscan lack the typical Villanovan ossuary, but unlike them, they also lack the hut urn [13].

[9] Unpurified clay or earthenware of dark brown color. In the older accounts no distinction is made between this and bucchero which is made of fine clay and is quite black.

[10] For the contents of a typical Latian tomb, see *Mon. Ant.* XV, fig. 125; on Hut Urns, see Bryan, *Italic Hut Urns, Mon. American Acad.* IV, 1925.

[11] See note 1.

[12] *Mon. Ant.* IV, figs. 47-50.

[13] *Röm. Mitth.* VI, page 227.

The earliest cemeteries published as Faliscan were found at Monte Sant'Angelo, Narce, and Falerii. Of these the first does not belong in the Faliscan group [14]. Monte Sant'Angelo is a ridge between the Lago di Martignano and the swampy basin of Baccano a little to the east of Lake Bracciano. It is thus near the source of the Treia and the highest point of the valley in which Mazzano, Narce, and Cività Castellana lie farther to the northeast. It is west of Nepi and south of Campagnano, both of which are outside the Ager Faliscus, and in spite of the fact that it is in plain sight of Narce and not more than ten miles distant, there is little to connect it with the Faliscans except that it was excavated at the same time, published in the same volume of the *Monumenti Antichi*, and given a place in the Narce gallery of the Villa Giulia Museum. Barnabei thus states his reasons for expecting to find an early settlement at the head of the Treia [15]: ..... " Apparve assai chiaramente che il progresso civile nella valle del Treia si svolse a seconda del corso del fiume ; essendo stato Narce il centro di maggiore importanza quando Falerii era compresa nelle sole capanne di Montarano ; essendo poi Falerii il centro principale verso il VI secolo avanti Cristo ; essendosi finalmente spezzate le reliquie di tale potenza nei centri secondari della parte inferiore dell'agro, nelle terre prossime al Tevere, ove gli avanzi della gente falisca nell'ultimo periodo della storia del luogo si vennero

[14] *Della Seta*, page 87 : " Questo materiale, per il tipo, anzichè al materiale falisco sembra ricollegarsi a quello di territorio etrusco ". Yet the incorporation of the Monte Sant'Angelo discoveries in the *Scavi nel Territorio Falisco* has been taken over by other scholars and made its way into standard works like Montelius.

[15] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 28.

raccogliendo ". It is true that Falerii became the chief center, perhaps even earlier than Barnabei says. This was destined to come about as soon as the population of the plain had increased to considerable numbers and there was reason for regular communication between the southern and northern parts. The line of such communication would naturally cross the Treia in a place where the stream was single instead of being divided into eight branches ; would follow, in other words, the course taken in historical times by the Via Flaminia. A glance at a relief map, or better still a cross country walk through the district, will quickly convince one that it was important to avoid as many as possible of those gorges whose perpendicular walls draped with scrub oak and brambles have probably changed little of their forbidding aspect since the unfortunate wayfarers of the early Iron Age first attempted them. But the local civilization does not follow the river in quite such unbroken progress as Barnabei suggests. The reason for Falerii's loss of power is well known and has apparently no connection with the course of the Treia. For the rest of the theory the sole support is that a greater number of cremation graves were found at Narce. Even before the excavations of Mazzano had proved the neighborhood of Narce to be one of the greatest strongholds of the cremation people, and so deprived this circumstance of any chronological significance, it should have surprised nobody that more pit tombs were found in Narce, which was abandoned in the third century B. C., than in Falerii, which with its immediate surroundings has been disturbed by human occupation almost continuously from the Stone Age until now.

" Rimaneva sempre a risolvere donde primieramente si fosse mosso quel popolo che venne in Narce ed in Fa-

lerii ".[15] The excavators with this in mind went farther up the valley of the Treia and looked in the neighborhood of the stream's head for signs of a still more ancient settlement. These they found at Monte Sant'Angelo, south of the source of the river. Their success could not have astonished them over much, since it was common knowledge that peasants working on that hill had unearthed Villanovan urns [16]. With the preconceived notion that there was the cradle of the race, the excavators proceeded to make the evidence they discovered fit their hypothesis. The lack of cineraries of Faliscan type they took as proof that the Monte Sant'Angelo cemetery was older. It is undoubtedly true that the pozzi there show some more primitive characteristics than those of Narce and Falerii, but there is proof that the cemetery was not abandoned until long after the period of the pit tombs, and the later deposits show no more Faliscan connection than the earlier. Barnabei dates in the seventh century a chamber tomb which contained a collection of Corinthian pottery not to be paralleled in any Faliscan deposit [17]. Realizing that there are differences for which a chronological gap alone is insufficient explanation, Barnabei appeals to the tradition of Sabine infiltration and says that a Sabine element added to the people of Monte Sant'Angelo made the city of Narce. This may or may not be true. All we can say now is that if there was ever any tangible proof of the direct connection it is invisible to us in the objects exhibited in the Villa Giulia Museum or described in the official publication of the Faliscan excavations. There is no more reason for supposing Monte Sant'Angelo the source of the important " Italic " element in Narce than

[15] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 28.
[16] *Idem*, cols. 70, 72.
[17] *Idem*, IV. cols. 88 ff.

Veii or some center on the other side of the Tiber [18]. In fact, there is less reason, for the Italici who settled in the Faliscan territory did not use the Villanovan urn.

The material from Monte Sant'Angelo [19] is limited in quantity, for though the *pozzo* cemetery was extensive, the cultivation of the fields had destroyed many of the pits leaving only a fragment of the ossuary in the bottom of the grave. Even the tombs discovered intact yielded very little besides the cineraries and their covers. The latter have for the most part the form of the typical Villanovan dish with one handle. There is in one case a clay helmet (Villa Giulia No. 6650) hemispherical in shape and surmounted by an apex instead of the crest which the only Faliscan helmet shows. In Allumiere near the Etruscan coast the commonest urn cover is this type of helmet with apex terminating in a knob [20]. At Monte Sant'Angelo one dish probably used as a cover is decorated on the bottom with small bronze discs pressed into the clay while it was still soft [21]. This ornament " a bottoncini di bronzo " became common in the Faliscan tombs of a later period and will be discussed in that connection [22]. An urn (not on exhibition in the Villa Giulia) is described as similarly decorated [23]. The Faliscan examples of this technique are all from inhumation graves of Period II.

There are four types of fibula at Monte Sant'Angelo.

[18] Von Duhn's opinion is that they did not come from Latium, but from the north or west beyond the Ciminian. (Page 273).

[19] Villa Giulia Museum, with *Della Seta*, page 87 ; *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 73-87.

[20] *Bull. Pal.* XXXVI. 1910. page 130, plate VIII, 6.

[21] *Mon. Ant.* IV. col. 75, Tomb I.

[22] See pages 55 ff.

[23] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 76, Tomb III.

(Montelius, plate 331. 1-4). One (No. 4), in which the arc consists of a series of spiral turns made in a pair of wires already twisted together like a rope, occurs in the same grave both in bronze and in gold [24]. I have not found any of exactly the same type elsewhere, but the closest parallels are from Guriano Siculo (Aquila) (Montelius I, plate 131.5) and two from Terni in Umbria (*Not. Sc.* 1914, 50,51). In all these the form is less compact than in those of Monte Sant'Angelo. The second type (No. 1) is a common one, — a short pin and a simple arc marked with rope-like spiral windings [25]. A third form (No. 3) in which the arc consists of graduated bronze discs strung on a wire occurs also at Populonia [26] and Terni [27]. The fourth (No. 2) is marked with groups of rings around the arc [28]. Between the groups of rings are circular sinkings as if for inlays. The pin closes against a disc made by hammering a spiral of bronze wire to a flat plate.

Barnabei himself notes that the Monte Sant'Angelo fibulae are of types which do not occur at Narce [29]. They are also lacking at Falerii.

The material from Monte Sant'Angelo, then, consists of Villanovan urns, urn covers, fibulae, and a fragment of a possible hut urn [30]. Not a single object can be paralleled in a Faliscan pozzo. The obvious contrast did not

[24] *Idem*, cols. 351, 76, plate X, 4.

[25] *Idem*, col. 364, plate X, 1; Perugia, *Montelius*, plate 25, 18; Clusium, *o. c.*, plate 213, 2; Terni. *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 34, 27.

[26] Minto, *Populonia*, fig. 9, 9.

[27] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 43, fig. 35.

[28] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 365, plate X, 2.

[29] *Idem*, IV, col. 365.

[30] This is visible in the Villa Giulia Museum. It may be a piece from the doorway of a hut urn but it is difficult to be certain of the significance of such a fragment. Von Duhn (page 370) notes that if

escape Cozza and Barnabei who explained the difference as being one of age alone, though the Faliscan pozzi are strikingly conservative and preserve many archaic forms. Monte Sant'Angelo was in their opinion the oldest center in the Treia valley and so had different characteristics from the other towns. Their chief evidence was the presence of the true Villanovan urn. This alone is not a conclusive argument, for the form does not occur at all in the Alban Hills where the venerable antiquity of the deposits has seldom been questioned, and survives in other places to an advanced period of the first Iron Age. At Monte Sant'Angelo itself " altri oggetti di bronzo " which are known to have disappeared might give a less primitive appearance to Tomb I, which had a tufa receptacle enclosing the cinerary [31]. The urn cover with bronze nail ornament came from this grave.

Colini dates the Monte Sant'Angelo series of pozzi later than the transition from Bronze to Iron, but early in the Iron Age, or in the Villanovan period [32].

The oldest of the urns found at Falerii [33] are handmade of greyish brown impasto, unevenly fired and polished with a stick. They are roughly ovoid in shape and without decoration. The same general forms occur in many Italic cemeteries [34]. Several, like an urn from the

it is rightly interpreted to be part of a hut urn, it belongs to the easternmost example so far discovered.

[31] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 74 f, fig. 21.

[32] *Bull. Pal.* 1913, page 27.

[33] Villa Giulia, Stanzina d'ingresso, cemeteries of Celle and Montarano. *Della Seta*, page 44.

[34] Ancona-Pianello, *Bull. Pal.* 1913, page 30, Plates I. 4-6, 9, II, 2, III, 4, 5, 7, 9, and figs. 2-14. Here Colini lists many examples from Faliscan and Latian cemeteries. (Pages 31 ff.).

Grottaferrata, *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 136, fig. 137.

Caere, Museo Preistorico, Room XXXVII.

Roman Forum, are without handles [35]. In other cases the function of handles is performed by conical projections from the body of the vase or crescent-shaped ridges moulded or applied on the shoulders. Both of these devices, the first of which is very primitive, occur in Latium. The conical knobs appear on vases from Suessula [36], Grottaferrata, Rome, and Allumiere; and the crescents in relief, at Rome [37]. The latter occur also on a Veientine urn of almost black impasto as well as on smaller accessory vases from the same place [38]. A small urn of yellowish grey color with one handle and a zone of incised ornament on the shoulders is somewhat similar to one from Allumiere which Colini publishes with the comment that the form is common in Latium, Capena, and Umbria, but less common in Etruria and the Faliscan district [39]. At Falerii it occurs (in the necropolis of Celle) with a flint arrow head and a rough dish on a high foot. The same form is used as an accessory with an inhumation burial at Terni [40]. Another urn of dark impasto with a zone of incised decoration is of the spheroid shape later common in the local red ware. The cover in this case is a clay helmet, an imitation of a type common in bronze along the coast of Etruria and in the Po valley [41]. It occurs at Tarquinii [42] and also at Veii [43]

[35] *Not. Sc.* 1903, page 159, fig. 38.

[36] *Mon. Ant.* XV, plate XXIV, 29 (Suessula); *Montelius* plate 136 (Grottaferrata); *o. c.*, plate 133,15 (Rome); *o. c.*, plate 93, 4 (Bologna).

[37] *Mon. Ant.* XV, plate VII, 2; *Montelius*, plate 94, 5 (Bologna); Clusium, Florence Museum.

[38] Villa Giulia Museum.

[39] *Bull. Pal.* 1910, XXXVI, page 137, plate X, 6.

[40] *Not. Sc.* 1910, page 41, fig. 33.

[41] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 637; *Montelius*, plate 47, 10.

[42] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 53, fig. 8; page 77, fig. 26; page 256.

[43] Villa Giulia Museum.

both in clay and in bronze. With this urn were found two shallow dishes supported on the backs of rams instead of the usual stem.

One of the urns with crescent-shaped handles has a plain bronze bowl for a cover. The only other metal objects found with the earlier ossuaries are heavy bronze rings and spirals, razors, [44], and fibulae "ad arco semplice" [45].

The Italic form of the hut urn does not occur at all in the Faliscan district [46]. There is in the Villa Giulia a bronze house urn which belongs to the great period of oriental importation. It is rectangular in plan, and together with the parallel examples from Orvieto and Vetulonia belongs rather to a foreign tradition than to any local development [47].

The accessory vases of early pozzi at Falerii are few and for the most part very simple in form. Several of the shapes are familiar in Latian burials of the same period. In tomb IV. of the Celle necropolis there is one of the so-called lamps. It is a shallow dish with a flat rim incised with a simple geometric pattern. The more usual type of this *lucerna* has a handle in the center and is furnished with a foot. The form is common in Latium and in lower Etruria [48]. The closest parallels

[44] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 386 and note 1. Barnabei points out that they are all of the type found in the Tomba del Guerriero at Tarquinii.

[45] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 365, plate X, 5.

[46] *Röm. Mitth.* VI, 1891, page 227; Bryan, *Italic Hut Urns*, pages 191 ff. for list of known hut urns.

[47] *Mon. Ant.* XV, fig. 189 d, col. 618; *Montelius*, plate 308, 8. A later example from Narce is referred to by *Von Duhn*, page 380. Another quadrangular house urn was found at Castiglione del Lago (Prov. di Perugia), *Montelius*, plate 238.

[48] Roman Forum, *Montelius*, plate 134, 6; *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 104, fig. 7; 1903, page 148, fig. 26; 1906, page 15, fig. 10.

I have found for the Faliscan specimen are from Allumiere [49] and Bisenzio. A primitive form of cup with a ring handle occurs at Montarano [50], as it does in the Roman Forum [51] and at Tarquinii [52]. The peculiar square handles of the dishes in one tomb at Falerii are found also at Grottaferrata [53]. This form suggests Latium in general, but particularly the Alban Hills. Veii has examples of it. Shallow basins on stems are common at Falerii, as they are in Latium and at Tarquinii [54]. One from Montarano (X) has a base cut to simulate a tripod [55]. We may look for their prototype to the terremare where basins on a high trumpet foot are not uncommon [56].

The Narce tombs correspond to those of Falerii but proportionally fewer belong to the period which precedes the introduction of the wheel-made urn and the copper-red pottery. One grave, however, has, for the

Grottaferrata, *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 182, figs. 90-92.

Allumiere, *Bull. Pal.* 1910, page 143, plate VI, 2; *Montelius*, plate 132, 4.

Cantalupo, *Bull. Inst.* XXXIX, 1867, pages 46-54.

Visentium, Museo Preistorico, Room XXXVIII.

Caracupa, *Not. Sc.* 1903, page 304, fig. 13 from cremation tomb. This specimen is without a handle. Its bowl is elliptical and has no rim.

[49] See note 48.

[50] One from terramara at Gorzano, *Montelius*, plate 17, 19.

[51] *Not. Sc.* 1906, page 272, fig. 20; page 280, fig. 28. Also at Caracupa, *Montelius*, plate 372, 37.

[52] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 242, fig. 47. (Also at Visentium, Vulci, Vetulonia, *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 432).

[53] *Montelius*, plate 137,9; Conservatori Museum; Museo Preistorico, Room XLI.

[54] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 77, fig. 26; Museo Preistorico, Room XXXVII; Room XXXVIII. (Bisenzio).

[55] *Montelius*, plate 311, 5 (Falerii); plate 43, 11 (Golasecca).

[56] Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages of Italy*, page 357.

Faliscan territory, a very primitive appearance [57]. It contained only vases of brown or reddish impasto. The urn (Villa Giulia no. 3802) is handmade and is of ovoid shape without handles. The color is reddish brown. Its cover (no. 3803) is an inverted saucer, deeply incised on the bottom with an irregular and crudely drawn geometric design. There are six accessory vases, two dishes on high stems, two cups without handles, one hemispherical bowl with one handle, a cup in the shape of a truncated cone with one handle. These are all roughly made by hand of dark impasto. The grave itself was of primitive style without tufa receptacle or other protection for its contents than the earth filling [58].

The outstanding characteristics of these earliest Faliscan graves are first, their poverty and second, the provincial nature of what few objects they contain. Not only have they no imported articles but they show nothing locally made under the influence of things manufactured outside of Italy. The extreme simplicity of the tomb furniture makes it difficult to say that there is a more definite connection with any one of the nearby Italian centers than another. The absence of the true Villanovan urn and of any form immediately derived from it, and the presence of the Celle lamp and the square handles of Montarano suggest close kinship with Latium. On the other hand, the characteristic network ornament of Latium and the equally characteristic hut urn are missing all together, while the " horned " and " biforal " handle are conspicuously scarce. We have in the Faliscan district apparently a backward region, not on the line of any of the main travelled highways, where a smal

[57] Petrina necropolis, Tomb 9. *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 406.
[58] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 46.

detachment of the "Italic" people settled about the end of the ninth century B. C. Perhaps the very fact of their being crowded back into land which their more prosperous kinsmen considered undesirable is sufficient explanation for the poverty of their culture. Their remoteness from the coast, and their separation even from the less important Tiber combined with the peculiar difficulties of cross country connection in that region to keep them from feeling directly the effects of contact with the outside world, and to make them develop more slowly than their neighbors. They preserved their ancestral rite of cremation in almost its original simplicity, and the resemblance between their tomb furniture and the much older deposits of Allumiere and the Alban Hills bears witness to their provincial conservatism [59]. When changes begin to come they are at first only reflections of the revolutions which were taking place beyond their borders in towns brought directly under the influence of new peoples and customs.

[59] Some of the urn forms are not far removed from those used in the terremare. *Bull. Pal.* 1913, page 28, and Villa Giulia Museum Nos. 2935, 2950, 3055.

III.

CREMATION BURIAL OF PERIOD II.

In the later *pozzi* of Falerii and Narce there appears for the first time a class of vases destined to become one of the distinctive features of the Faliscan tomb furniture. These are made of earth mixed with volcanic detritus but without the carbon which darkens most of the early Italic pottery. After firing, the jars are coated with a waxy red slip and polished by hand [1]. Since the best specimens resemble burnished metal and many of the shapes popular in this ware are known to be developed as metallic forms, Barnabei considers the red color an imitation of copper [2]. There is an earlier red ware which begins with the Neolithic and persists through the Iron Age in coarse utensils of ordinary use and particularly in the large *dolia* sometimes found in Latian and Etruscan graves. Nu-

[1] *Mon. Ant.* IV., col. 238. However, the American Indians of the Southwest, who produce much the same kind of pottery, polish their vases before firing, and it is quite possible that the same method was used in ancient Italy.

[2] A striking instance of the imitation of metal is provided by a fluted bowl in the central case of the second Falerii room in the Villa Giulia. Compare Villa Giulia No. 3844 (in the Narce gallery) and many other examples in bronze. That the color, however, is not of prime importance, is proved by numerous examples of this favorite form in brown impasto from Capena. See *Mon. Ant.* IV, figs. 119 (bronze), and 120 (clay).

merous fragments of this heavy, pinkish red fabric appeared for instance in the house foundations of Satricum. The bricky color and porous surface have no relation to the copper-red pottery of the Faliscans which has a distinctive color and finish and with rare exceptions occurs in a limited area. Its beginning seems to be contemporaneous with the introduction of the potter's wheel, although there are cases in which the copper-red vases are obviously hand-modelled [3].

There are many reasons for thinking this red fabric a local development in spite of the facts that imported vases begin to appear at the same time [4] and that some of the forms obviously imitate the new metal pots. In the first place some of the vases are too large and unwieldy to be carried far. Other shapes are used indifferently in the red or the black ware which is certainly local. The characteristic cup with vertical rim (Plate III) occurs in both fabrics, and wheel-made red urns preserve the primitive crescent handles. Then it is commoner inland than on the coast. Its distribution is significant and points to some center of manufacture if not in the Faliscan district, certainly in some near-by town of southern Etruria. There are examples of the class in Rome, as the Esquiline tomb pottery of the Conservatori Museum shows, and occasional rare specimens turn up in other towns. A few fragments from Ardea are shown in the Preistoric, Room XXXIX (a ribbon handle, a piece of a fluted cup), and in the same museum is an interesting incised jar from Marino which faintly reflects the form of

[3] Cp. a cup on a stem from a Montarano pozzo in the Villa Giulia Museum and an olla from the Esquiline in the Conservatori Museum. From Tarquinii there is an example of a hut urn in the red fabric. (Museo Preistorico 85689, Room XXXVII).

[4] *Della Seta*, page 40.

the Villanovan urn. In general the fabric is confined to the Faliscan and Capenate regions and a few places in lower Etruria. Capena has less than the Faliscans. Tarquinii and Vulci have comparatively little, while Caere and Veii are rich in it.

Just as many iron age tombs contain only bronze, or no metal at all, so some graves which are dated after the introduction of the copper-red pottery contain only dark impasto vases. The red ware never entirely displaces the older fabric and at first is comparatively scarce. It is, however, so conspicuous and characteristic a feature and its introduction coincides with so many other important changes that it makes a convenient marker in the chronology of Faliscan tombs.

At Falerii the pozzi which contain copper-red pottery differ distinctly from the others and are invariably later in appearance. This is less strikingly true at Narce [5]. At Falerii the urns are wheel-made and are all of spheroid shape and of the new red fabric. The form is varied somewhat by having no handles (as in Montarano XII), or applied crescents like the more primitive hand-made pots (Montarano XIII), or vertical ribbon handles attached near the neck of the jar [6]. There is a small red bowl from Caere with crescent handles like the Faliscan [7]. Narce, Mazzano, and Falerii all have the same style of spheroid red urn [8]. Sometimes the covers are bronze bowls — hammered from a single sheet like the early example from Falerii (Celle VIII) but lighter in weight

[5] Perhaps the red ware began in Falerii.

[6] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 104 gives the plain type; fig. 105 *a* shows four ribbon handles.

[7] Museo Preistorico, Room XXXVII.

[8] For a Mazzano tomb corresponding completely with Falerii, see *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 603.

and with rim curled over a heavy wire instead of the plain edge. Bronze bowls as covers for spheroid urns are fairly common elsewhere [9]. When a clay dish serves for cover it is no longer the rounded Villanovan cup, but shows a decided break between the body and the cylindrical rim [10] (Plate III, 1). The handle continues the vertical line of the rim which is divided into horizontal ridges crossed and, as it were, bound together by a vertical bar. This is a common form and occurs both in dark impasto and in the red ware [11]. There are a few bronze cineraries but because of their greater costliness these are much rarer than the clay forms. There is from Falerii one small urn with two handles of a shape very similar to the clay amphorae with incised spirals to be discussed later as one of the typical Faliscan forms [12]. At Narce we find some examples of bronze urns of the type illustrated in *Mon. Ant.* IV, Plate VIII, 2. The form is a double truncated cone on a conical foot. The plates from which the jar is made are decorated with a hammered geometric pattern.

Accessory vases are more numerous. Some cups (for instance no. 2891) are of excellent black fabric carefully modelled in the " lenticulate " form with handles braced by a transverse bar which gives it a double opening (Plate III, 3). This is a developed form of the old " biforal " handle supposedly characteristic of Italic cremation burial but which does not occur in the most

[9] *Not. Sc.* 1889, page 238 and *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 611, fig. 185 a, for Veii; *Mon. Ant.* XIII, col. 240, fig. 16 for a silver example from Cumae; Villa Giulia Museum for Falerii, Narce, and Trevignano.

[10] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 76.

[11] For an example from outside the Faliscan district, see a specimen from Vulci in Museo Preistorico, Room XXXVII.

[12] Pages 95 ff.

primitive Faliscan graves. In the same grave with cup No. 2891 there is a specimen of rough impasto and rude workmanship, a coarse, egg-shaped cup with one handle which shows that the cheaper wares are not to be displaced in a moment by more advanced products whether it is religious conservatism or mere economy that encourages their survival. The small amphora of Montarano XIV is another form which does not appear in the earliest graves but is common from now on. In this one grave there are no less than four of the same flattened, " lenticulate " form with plain ribbon handles and with the upper part of the body grooved vertically with a blunt stick (Plate III, 4). This " lenticulate " amphora occurs also at Veii and Capena in pit tombs. It is common in Latium in the second period of the Iron Age.

Narce *pozzi* of the same period show much the same characteristics as those from Falerii. The same varieties of handles occur on the ossuaries and similar inverted dishes of red or dark ware serve as covers. One of the urn covers (Villa Giulia No. 5540, Tomb VIII) has curious decoration. The geometric design is laid on in a chalky white paint which flakes off in large bits. Other accessory vases of the same tomb (among them two well-modelled cups with ribbon handles) are ornamented in the same way with meander patterns. The same kind of painting in chalky white on dark impasto occurs at Veii on " lenticulate " cups and on a helmet cover for a Villanovan urn. It is common in the Veientine graves for inhumation. In the *fossa* from Gabii (Villa Giulia Museum) one vase shows a combination of this painting with incision. Tarquinii [13], Visentium [14], and Vetulonia [15]

[13] Helmet cover in Museo Preistorico, Room XXXVII.

[14] Florence Museum and *Mon. Ant.* XXI, col. 428 No. 18.

[15] Helmet covers in Florence Museum.

also furnish examples, This is not a successful technique from the point of view either of beauty or of durability and does not survive in competition with other styles of ornament. It is more nearly incrustation than painting and I do not include the pottery so decorated among painted vases which are discussed later [16].

The biforal handle and the " lenticulate " amphora appear at Narce also in the later graves. There is, in fact, one case of a cup (No. 2480) with double opening in the handle in a tomb without any red pottery. The ovoid urn is of impasto covered with a lighter slip. The accessories are a bronze razor of usual form with schematized duck's heads on the handle, an iron fibula of twisted snake type (*serpeggiante*), a large clay spindle whorl, and a cup on a low stem. One lenticulate cup (5576) has a biforal handle which is also " crested " after a fashion common in Latium. Cups of exactly similar shape to this one frequently form part of the tomb furniture here and elsewhere [17].

Except for the kind of white painting described above, the decoration of impasto vases is incised, stamped, or moulded. Occasionally the three systems are combined in one jar. Where incision is used, the cutting is deep and confined to the simplest geometric designs — zigzags, meanders, and simple combinations of parallel lines varied by dots made with a pointed instrument in the wet clay. In one case the dot rosette appears on a small amphora (Villa Giulia No. 5634). Oriental floral motifs, so common a little later, have not yet come into fashion. A white or red filling in the incisions sometimes empha-

[16] Pages 72 ff.

[17] Tarquinii, Museo Preistorico and *Not. Sc.* 1907, p. 59, fig. 13 ; Veii, Villa Giulia and Museo Preistorico ; Marino, Museo Preistorico No. 63565.

sizes the designs. Of the stamped ornament the simplest sort is that called "*a fune*", where the pattern is produced on the soft clay by pressing into it a cord or twisted wire. A meander in this technique is the decoration on the Montarano urn (Tomb XI) which has a helmet cover. An urn cover at Narce illustrates the same process (Villa Giulia No. 3913). Also at Narce we find a fine series of black lenticulate cups with high crested and biforal handles and a ring of this cord ornament at the base of the neck [18]. Vertical grooving with a blunt stick is common on the small, lenticulate amphorae. Crescents and conical projections occur on others. All of these devices for ornament are very old. Indeed they hark back to the Stone Age [19]. On the other hand the use of figures or parts of figures modelled in the round as an ornament or as an integral part of a vase is a new development which begins at Falerii with the rams as supports for dishes [20] and at Narce for the first time with a low bowl decorated with white-filled incisions and with the head of a bull (?) modelled on the handle. (Villa Giulia No. 3320).

Though some of the pozzetti with red urns preserve the strict simplicity of the early rite and show nothing in the way of accessories except perhaps a bronze "razor" [21], the general tendency of the time is to increase the number of articles in the equipment of the tomb. This may be due to contamination of the ancient custom by contact with peoples who used the rite of inhumation and

[18] Villa Giulia Nos. 5576, 3281, 3822. There are examples from Veii in the same museum.

[19] *Bull. Pal.* XXXIV, 1908, page 37.

[20] Villa Giulia Nos. 2883-2884; *Montelius*, plate 310, 4; *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 637.

[21] *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 424 ff.

habitually deposited more offerings with the dead. With the increase in number and value of accessories, particularly vases, the tomb furniture outgrows the unpretentious form of the primitive *pozzo* and a new type develops. The grave is still a vertical shaft sunk like a well into the earth and the cinerary still occupies the bottom of the pit. Sometimes the shaft itself is widened and the furniture piles in on top of the small cavity made for the urn. Sometimes a niche is hollowed out on one side of the pit to form what is known as the " *pozzo con loculo* ". Cozza shows the evolution of this enlarged and modified *pozzo* in *Mon. Ant.* IV, figures 48-50. The same type occurs at Veii, a place with which the Faliscan cemeteries have much in common.

There was no painted pottery in the earliest Faliscan pit graves. In the later group it is still rare but there are a few specimens of a new fabric which is painted in red or brown on a cream-colored ground. The patterns are simple geometric designs or plain bands. Some of the shapes also are new. In Montarano XIV, a pozzo of the later type, there is a vase of poppy-head shape with a cream-colored slip and red painting (Plate III, 5). A hemispherical bowl or cup (Villa Giulia No. 5561) and shallow dishes on stems are of the same ware, while from Narce there is a support for a vase in this fabric.

The later pozzi are not only richer in pottery but the other accessories are more numerous and varied. It is not surprising to find bronze vessels still comparatively rare. An occasional basin serves as an urn cover (Villa Giulia No. 3844 with beaded rim — a common form) [22]. From Narce there is a bronze cup with one ribbon handle.

[22] Bronze bowls with beaded rims at Tarquinii, Caere, Bisenzio, Volsinii, Clusium, Vetulonia, Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, page 401.

The form is a simplification of the Tolfa cups in the Museo Preistorico [23].

Weapons or tools of metal occur only in the later pozzi. One of the Montarano tombs produced a bronze axe with ducks' heads below the wings [24]. A few Narce graves have swords of iron much oxidized. Bits for horses are exhibited with objects from tomb XIX of Narce [25]. Razors are of the same form as those of the more primitive graves. They have ring handles ornamented with schematized duck heads [26]. The fibulae are usually of bronze and of small size. The types are the leech or the plain arc with long sheath. They are much more numerous than in older tombs; sometimes many are strung together. There are bullae and pendants of common type from necklaces [27]. Iron is used for ornaments, particularly for fibulae of huge size and weight. Precious metals are rare, being represented by a few silver fibulae of minute size from a Narce grave.

There is a considerable quantity of amber also, cut in a great variety of forms — spherical beads, graduated disks for the arcs of fibulae, buttons, and bottle-shaped pendants. A conspicuous sign of advancement over the earlier age is in the beads of glass or colored paste among which are eye beads of a type very common in seventh century graves [28]. An Egyptian figurine of light blue paste is in one of these tombs. These indicate direct foreign influence such as did not exist in the older pozzi.

[23] There are several examples of this kind of cup from Veii in the Villa Giulia.

[24] *Mon. Ant.* IV, plate XII. 2.

[25] *Della Seta*, page 90; *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols, 500, 184.

[26] A similar razor from Veii is in the Museo Preistorico.

[27] Villa Giulia 5498; *Mon. Ant.* IV. plate IX. 57.

[28] Villa Giulia 5518. Cp. Eisen, *A. J. A.* 1916.

I have described the material from Narce and Falerii at some length because the record is most complete and begins earliest there, though traces of other cemeteries have been discovered in the same general region. Even the oldest of these graves probably do not antedate the end of the ninth century and very few could be set as early as that. The bulk of the material belongs to the eigth century toward the end of which the copper-red pottery comes into use, while some of the " pozzi con loculi " belong to the seventh century. Surprisingly little material for studying the early Iron Age has been discovered elsewhere in the Faliscan district or on its borders. Evidence for cremation burial is particularly scanty. Monte Sant'Angelo is of course an old center of habitation, but even there there are no tombs which give the same impression of remote antiquity as those of Allumiere nearer the coast. There is no sign of the transition from the Bronze Age, but the oldest are already in the fully developed Age of Iron. The lack of traces of very primitive Iron Age settlements in the neighborhood of Nepi, Sutri, and Capena is attributed to the accident that material existing in those places has not been discovered, or at least, not since records of such finds were carefully kept [29]. At Trevignano on the Lake of Bracciano a late eighth century pozzo tomb came to light with furniture corresponding to Faliscan graves of the same period [30]. It contained a red urn with bronze bowl for cover and accessories of the usual type. A pozzo of the same date made one of a group of five graves found at Rignano [31]. The urn was of the typical copper-red

[29] *Della Seta*, page 322 and *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 484 (Capena); *Della Seta* page 106 (Nepi).

[30] Villa Giulia Museum and *Not. Sc.* 1913, pages 37 ff.

[31] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 266.

fabric with a dark impasto dish serving as cover. A cup with *ansa bifora* and an iron knife were among the accessories. The only cremation grave of Capena produced a small amphora with ribbon handles and grooved body such as those from Faliscan tombs of the second period. This, together with the form of the urn, an incised cup on a high, open-work base, and an iron lance head show the deposit to belong probably in the early eighth century [32].

To sum up the differences between early and later pozzi, we find the later are distinguished by greater wealth, by new fibula forms and imported beads and pendants, by the use of wheel-made vases, pottery with copper-red slip, and local painted ware, and by a few new forms in local pottery (for example, the small amphora of Latian type and jars with crested handles). From the earlier pozzi there are survivals such as the rite of cremation itself, the semi-circular razor, and some old pottery forms in dark impasto.

The cremation graves of the second period are uniform in Capena, Trevignano, Falerii, Narce, and Corchiano, that is, for the territory included between the Tiber and the Lakes Vico and Bracciano. The district is cut off on the north by the Ciminian Forest and on the south by Veii's sphere of influence. The Faliscans have strong resemblances to the people of Veii who show a more varied culture, however. There are four distinct types of urn there, for instance, and some of these belong to the period which precedes any Iron Age traces so far discovered among the Faliscans. Monte Sant'Angelo belongs rather to the Veientine than to the Faliscan district. The Faliscan centers appear to have had at first an

[32] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 286, fig. 9.

inconsiderable population for a country so fertile. By what route a small detachment of Iron Age "Italici" made their way into this secluded corner it is impossible to say with certainty. Pigorini [33] may be right in thinking that they are an offshoot from the old mountain settlements of which Visentium seems an important center and that they drifted down from the Monti Sabatini as the people of Romulus did from the Alban Hills. The tradition, however, that Capena was a colony of Veii [34] seems borne out by the marked resemblance in local pottery forms and it is at least possible that the Faliscans found their final settlements after retreating up the Tiber Valley before the expansion of Veii or that they were crowded in from the coast in the neighborhood of Caere, for instance, by the coming of the Etruscans. At first they are poor and conservative. Old forms persist among them after they have passed out of fashion elsewhere, so that resemblances to the much older centers of Allumiere and Tolfa give their possessions a falsely archaic appearance. The likenesses to Ancona (Pianello) are probably due to a remote common source for both settlements.

As time goes on the Faliscans give evidence of an increase in wealth and numbers, perhaps due to the drifting in of more of their kinsmen from lower down the Tiber. The local pottery displays a greater variety of forms and at the same time shows a strengthening of the bond with Latium. Foreign ware also makes its appearance at first, as usual, in the form of small trinkets easily carried and well-nigh imperishable, which could conveniently be used in trade. The greater proportion of

[33] Journal British and American Archaeological Society, II, page 121.

[34] Servius, *ad Verg. Aen.* VII, 697.

imported beads and ornaments in Narce than in the *pozzi* of Falerii would make us look toward the coast for the source of these objects, which probably came in by barter along the road between Vico and Bracciano where Nepi and Sutri were later to be important posts. If the Tiber road had been the means of approach Falerii would have felt the effects of the traffic sooner than Narce. The occurrence of the typical red pottery of the Faliscans at Allumiere strengthens the probability of direct connections with the coast [35]. Iron and bronze were from the beginning brought into the district from elsewhere in Italy, probably from the towns of upper Etruria. Perhaps this motive for communication kept open the Tiber valley road through the Vadimon pass and accounts for signs of exchange between the Faliscans and Volsinii and other more northern cities [36].

The fact that the Italici were neither numerous nor long established in the Faliscan territory at the period marked by the later pit tombs left them subject to the play of non-Italic influences exerted on them from the Sabine and Umbrian side of the Tiber. Perhaps some survivors of the indigenous population strengthened these influences. This explains the fact that at the same time with the growth of resemblances to the Etruscan coast and to Latium we find a constantly increasing element among the Faliscans who use the rite of inhumation.

[35] *Bull. Pal.* XXXVI, 1910, page 146.
[36] *Von Duhn*, page 598.

IV.

INHUMATION BURIAL OF PERIOD II.

AMONG the Faliscans, and indeed among their neighbors as well, the rite of inhuming the dead becomes prevalent at an early date [1]. The custom of burying the body intact instead of cremating it marks a different conception of death and a different set of traditions from those held by the Villanovans and their kindred. The presence of the two rites in the same district, and even in the same cemeteries, makes it interesting to observe carefully what other distinctions besides the fundamental religious one may exist between the two types of burial. The form taken by the inhumation grave seems relatively unimportant. The simplest and supposedly the earliest is a trench *fossa* in the earth large enough to accomodate the tomb furniture and the body supine in an extended position. Since the body was buried fully clothed, it is natural that a greater number of personal ornaments occur as a rule with this kind of burial than in pit tombs, where the purest form of the rite included only what had passed through the fire. As the articles of tomb furniture grow larger and more numerous, the *fossa* is expanded in a way similar to that already described in

[1] Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, page 320; *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 285 ff.; *Della Seta*, pages 322 f. (Capena); *Not. Sc.* 1919, page 5 (Veii); *Mon Ant.* XV, col. 731 ff. (Latium); etc. See Chapter V.

connection with the pit tombs. A niche or loculus is constructed at one side of the trench to hold pottery and other offerings. This produces the *fossa con loculo* which is common in the Faliscan territory and in the surrounding districts [2]. The geological peculiarities of the Ager Faliscus were favorable to the adoption of the chamber or *camera* tomb, an artificial cavern in which the body and the funeral offerings were laid [3]. After the introduction of the chamber tomb in Central Italy it rapidly became the most popular form among the Faliscans who found it easy to hollow such sepulchres in the sides of their soft tufa cliffs, or to square into symmetrical rooms the caves nature had already provided. (See Pl. VII, fig. 1).

Because of confusion in the earlier reports on the Faliscan sites, the arrangement of the material in some parts of the Villa Giulia Museum has always been open to question, and the inhumation graves of Narce have been dismissed as of little scientific use [4]. The greatest difficulty lies in the mixture of objects from trench and chamber tombs. There is no accurate record of the tomb groups, and this means that for some purposes one of the richest collections in Italy is useless now and must always remain so. From Falerii there is one case in which not only the tomb form but the burial rite is uncertain. The nature of the tomb furniture gives unusual

[2] Faliscans, *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 136 ff. and figs. 53-61; Veii, *Not. Sc.* 1901, page 239; 1919, page 6; Capena, *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 379.

[3] Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries* [2], I, 87-96. Similar conditions made the camera tomb common in Capena also. (*Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 379).

[4] Fausto Benedetti, *Gli Scavi di Narce e il Museo di Villa Giulia*, London and Turin, 1900; Pigorini, *Bull. Pal.* 1902, page 252.

importance to the question of the rite, and the records are apparently in a hopeless tangle. The contents of this grave are exhibited in the museum as coming from a fossa in the Montarano cemetery [5]. The group, except for one object, consists entirely of brown or gray impasto pottery. One of its vases is a cup without handles and very crudely modelled in the shape of a truncated cone. There is also an urn such as was used for ashes in cremation graves, but which, as in many known instances, might here be counted among the accessories of an inhumation burial [6]. It is a roughly cylindrical jar with crescent shaped handles in relief. One of the most interesting objects is a brown impasto " brazier " [7] which has the peculiarity of a spherical swelling between the base and the neck, and is further distinguished by a prong from which a cup is suspended. This " brazier ", though of miniature size, is in form very close to the tall stands for bowls which are a common feature of seventh century graves. The only personal ornaments are a handful of terracotta beads [8], and a wooden bracelet [9]. Barnabei

[5] *Della Seta*, page 46 (Villa Giulia, Sala di Venere).

[6] Many Faliscan trench graves contain (sometimes in reduced size) red bowls such as are the characteristic ossuaries of later Faliscan *pozzi*. The same custom existed also at Tarquinii and Saturnia (see Florence Museum); Trevignano (*Not. Sc.* 1913, page 42); Rome (*Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 297). For other urn forms as accessories with inhumation burial, see *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 291; *Mon. Ant.* XXI, col. 441, Tomb 5, No 5; *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 354.

[7] See below, page 51, for discussion of this type of pottery objects.

[8] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 385, note 2, compares these beads with some from Vetulonia (*Falchi*, plate VII, fig. 16). However, the Vetulonian beads are of bronze and are furnished with a shank and a ring for stringing, while the Faliscan clay beads are pierced directly through the body.

[9] *Della Seta*, page 46 (Villa Giulia, No. 2965).

describes the bracelet as coming from " una tomba a pozzo del sepolcreto di Montarano che ha il numero VI tra le falische " [10]. This is disconcerting when the museum exhibits the grave as a *fossa* and so describes it in the catalogue. The presence of the brazier makes the question of the burial rite particularly interesting because in all other cases among the Faliscans these objects occur with inhumations. However, it is obviously impossible to treat the Montarano tomb as anything other than an unknown quantity. This is the only instance I have found where a doubt as to the burial rite seems to exist, but the question of disentangling the contents of the camera tombs of Narce from those of later fosse appears to be without solution. Yet many of the individual objects have a special significance apart from their place as elements in a single deposit. Furthermore, the chief reason for the original mistakes makes the existing confusion less disastrous. This is the fact that the equipment of later inhumation tombs seems to be of the same natur whether the dead are laid in the ground or in rock-cut chambers. We have, besides, a reliable check on the Narce record in the shape of careful reports on more than a hundred tombs from Mazzano near Narce [11], as well as notes on graves from Corchiano [12], Rignano [13], and Trevignano [14]. With all this evidence it seems justifiable to draw some conclusions on the rite of inhumation as practised by the Faliscans, and even to make use with

[10] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 385.

[11] *Not. Sc.* 1902.

[12] Contents of *fossa* tombs in Villa Giulia (*Della Seta*, page 83); *Not. Sc.* 1885, pages 420 ff., 1886, pages 152-156, 1909, pages 78 f., 1920, page 28.

[13] *Not. Sc.* 1914, pages 266 ff.

[14] *Idem*, 1913, pages 37 ff.

discretion of the Narce gallery in the Villa Giulia as a valuable supplement to the other records.

To make exact distinctions, however, between the *fosse* of Periods II and III is perhaps impossible except in the cases more recently reported, and even in these it is by no means easy. Some of the *fosse* are plainly contemporary with the *pozzi* containing copper-red pottery, but it seems highly improbable that there is a single *fossa* as old as the oldest pit tombs. The district apparently conforms in this respect to a rule which holds true of all the Iron Age sites of Central Italy where the two rites appear : that cremation is the older form and that inhumation, whatever its source, makes its appearance later and usually becomes dominant within a century of the time of its introduction [15].

So far as bronze ornaments are concerned, (wire spirals for pendants, serpent or boat *fibulae*, and occasionally razors) [16], the earlier trench graves show little change

[15] For the fact that the earliest Iron Age burials discovered in Latium and Etruria are cremations, see Peet, *B. S. R.* IV, page 286. The causes of the diminution of cremation are however not the same for all parts of Central Italy.

[16] Razors are supposedly " Italic ". Von Duhn notes their presence in inhumation graves at Terni (pages 455 f.), and they occur in many places in *fosse*, though in the more elaborate equipment of these they play a less important part than in the *pozzi* where they are often the only objects deposited with the ash urn. A number of *pozzi* from Narce contained only the cinerary with a bronze razor laid on its covers. (See for example, *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 413, Tomb 17). The Villa Giulia shows that in Veii and Capena they are quite commonly part of the equipment of rather poor graves of men throughout the *fossa* period. The importance of the razor as an Italic connection may be exaggerated. Only 9 of a series of 80 incineration graves of Poggio dell'Impiccato at Tarquinii contained them. (*Not. Sc.* 1907, page 68). For distribution and chronology, see Colini, *Bull. Pal.* XL, 1914, pages 160 ff., and 1915, pages 48 ff.

from the *pozzi*. Curiously enough, the bronze wheel-headed hairpins, which occur but rarely among the Faliscans, are found only in trench graves [17]. These are said to be found only in settlements which connect definitely with the Terremare traditions, and might be expected to appear in places where the cremation element is strong. The oldest *fosse* contain, like the pit tombs, simple types of fibula with plain arc, or with boat-shaped arc which is solid instead of hollow as in the later examples of this form [18]. Sometimes such *fibulae* are strung together in long chains. Iron *fibulae*, usually of the twisted serpent type, occur in some of the graves. Flint arrow heads set in metal plates, or wrapped in wire to be worn as pendants are a common feature of the Faliscan and Capenate regions as they are of the district around Ancona [19]. The Esquiline necropolis in Rome produced a similar amulet [20]. They come as a rule from the older trench graves, but there is one from Mazzano from a *fossa con loculo* of Period III [21], and the Praenestine example set in silver with repoussé design must be of even later date [22]. Flint arrow heads are still objects of superstition in some parts of Italy where the peasants regard them as thunderbolts, and their use in the early Iron Age was probably too nearly universal to make their distribu-

[17] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 373 and plate XII, 15. Also from a *fossa* is the Roman example published in *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 208 and plate XVI, 33. In Perugia they remain in use up to the third century B. C. but they go out of fashion elsewhere in the archaic period. See *Bull. Pal.* 1909, page 119; *Bull. Comm.* 1900, page 169.

[18] *Mon. Ant.* IV, 364 ff., plate X, 15, 10; *Della Seta*, pages 44, 45, 46, 47.

[19] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 361 and plate IX, 60.

[20] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 192 and fig. 80, i.

[21] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 603.

[22] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 20.

tion of much consequence. In general they would be expected to appear in greater numbers in places where neolithic occupation of the land had left many of them to be discovered by generations which had forgotten their use. Eyebeads are conspicuously absent from the oldest *fosse* of Montarano as they are now exhibited, but since there are blue and yellow eyebeads from an early fossa of Trevignano [23], and from others of Falerii and Narce, their absence from Montarano is not necessarily significant.

The impasto pottery is often the same as in cremation burials : the egg-shaped cup with ring handle, the stem dish, the spheroid jar, the small amphora, the lenticulate cup with biforal handle. Even the urns used in the other type of grave as ossuaries appear as accessories sometimes in the *fosse*. A few new types and new styles of decoration do appear, however, and since each of the innovations has some importance it seems worth while to give a detailed description of the forms which appear in the *fosse* of Period II for the first time in the Faliscan district, or which occur commonly in these graves and rarely in the *pozzi*.

Type 1. Handmade "braziers" of dark impasto. (Plate V). These are divided into two main types, one with a vase-shaped top, and the other with an open top like a slightly flaring chimney and probably designed to act as a support for a separate jar. The base of the brazier usually approximates a truncated pyramid of four sides. It shows considerable variation in details of modelling and decoration. Sometimes the ornament consists of incised geometric designs, and sometimes of pierced openings which form a rough pattern. The pur-

[23] *Not. Sc.* 1913, page 42.

pose of these objects is obscure, but they are usually called incense burners or braziers [24]. Some of them are not appropriately constructed for such a purpose, and it has been suggested that they are ritual objects deposited in tombs as symbols of those actually in use, or as substitutes for them [25]. By far the greater number so far published have come from Latian tombs [26] (usually *pozzi*) of ths Alban Hills, Lanuvium, Ardea, Rome, and Satricum [27]. Outside of Latium they are much rarer, but examples occur in the Faliscan territory and in more recently discovered graves in the neighborhood of Veii. A puzzling feature of their distribution is that while in Latium they are almost as distinctive a mark of cremation burial as the hut urn itself, on the other side of the Tiber they come from inhumation burials. One from a Montarano *fossa* is exhibited in the Villa Giulia. Here it is catalogued as a " sostegno di vaso " [28]. It has an unusually high base pierced with openings, and a flaring, conical top. Not one of the several Veientine examples in the same museum is of exactly the same form. The closest approximation to it is one decorated with whitened incisions instead of openings, and which acts as a stand for a small spheroid jar. Others from Veii have jar and base modelled in one piece like an Alban brazier in the Conservatori Museum [29]. The Alban Hills and Satricum also furnish parallels for the Montarano type.

[24] *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, I, Part 2, Introduction, page XXVI, pages 216 ff.

[25] Pinza quoted by *Montelius*, II. 663 and note 7.

[26] *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, l. c.

[27] Villa Giulia Museum.

[28] *Della Seta*, page 46 (Villa Giulia No. 2967). Published by *Montelius*, plate 310, 6.

[29] Cp. *Mon. Ant.* XV, plate XIX, 9, 11.

Type 2. A developed form of askos with three mouths and a handle, with " horns " and a transverse bar making a double opening [30]. The askos is an early form of vase, though it does not appear in the pit tombs of the Faliscans. Multiple mouths are not uncommon. One from Tarquinii has as many as six [31]. The askos is common in Latium, Etruria, and Campania [32]. This again is a form which in Latium occurs in very early cremation graves, but which in the Faliscan region belongs with inhumation burials.

Type 3. A dish with ridged cylindrical rim, vertical handle, and high foot (Pl. VII, fig. 2). A cup commonly used as urn-cover in the *pozzi* of Period II, has already been described. [33] The same form persists and is used in the trench graves, but in the later cases it is usually set on a high, trumpet-shaped base [34]. Dishes on stems are common all over Central Italy during the Iron Age and are in use from the time of the most primitive cremation burials, but this particular form is especially characteristic of Faliscan impasto, both in the red and in the brown ware. It is a shape less common in Latium, though there are examples of it there. The Museo Preistorico has examples from Veii, Capena, and Nepi, showing tha the Faliscans shared this style with their immediate neighbors. In the same museum there is one from Vulci, as well as a typical form from Falerii.

Type 4. The horned handle (*ansa cornuta* or *ansa*

[30] *Della Seta*, page 46 (Villa Giulia No. 2970); *Montelius* plate 311, 10.

[31] *Montelius*, plate 280, 13.

[32] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 411; *Montelius*, plates 139, 19 and 141, 11-14.

[33] See *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 76.

[34] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 79.

lunata). This type of handle is not unillustrated in the *pozzi*, but it is very rare in Faliscan graves except in those of the inhumation class. It is decorated at the top by a pair of upturned prongs which give the effect of a crescent or a pair of ox horns. It is considered one of the distinguishing marks of the Italici and is supposed to have entered Italy on the eastern side of the peninsula with one of the Bronze Age invasions. The people of the terremare brought it again in more developed form. During the Iron Age the use of it spread through Northern and Central Italy to such an extent that it appears in all the important centers there [35]. It is not, however, very common in the oldest tombs of southern Etruria and Latium. Apparently it was rare in Allumiere and also in the pit tombs of the Alban Hills [36]. The cremation graves of the Roman Forum produced very few examples. It occurs in hut foundations of undetermined date at Satricum, in the Roman inhumation tombs, and from an uncertain source in Ardea. The Narce cremation grave II has an example, but it is much commoner in the *fosse*.

A variant form of the *ansa cornuta* is the hammer handle, in which the ends of the prongs are flat instead of pointed. (See *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 183).

Type 5. The crested handle (*ansa cristata*). This first appears in the Faliscan district in *fosse* and *pozzi* of Period II. A small amphora from a Montarano *fossa* illustrates the form, as do also a series of black lenticulate cups from the later pozzi of Narce [37]. This handle

[35] Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages of Italy*, page 510; Pigorini, *Bull. Pal.* XV, pages 65, 122, 193, and XVI, page 54.

[36] *Bull. Comm.* 1885, page 45. There are no examples from Allumiere in the Museo Preistorico.

[37] Villa Giulia Museum, Nos. 5576, 3821, 3822. For a Latian example, see *Mon. Ant.* XV, fig, 74.

is common in Rome, Satricum, Praeneste, and throughout Latium, particularly on amphorae of dark impasto. East of the Apennines it occurs in strongly exaggerated form at Ascoli-Piceno, and it is also found in the Sabine country. It would seem that the form came from the Sabines or even from the Adriatic side of the peninsula. It is far commoner with inhumation than with cremation burials and the vases on which it occurs in the Faliscan territory are not of the earliest Iron Age forms [38].

Type 6. The *ansa bifora* or handle with double opening. This is a very old type, but the proportion in which it occurs in some of the early Iron Age sites is astonishingly small. There is not one in the votive deposit of Satricum as shown in the museum. This is by no means a certain indication of its absence from the site, but in a collection where horned and crested handles are frequent its scarcity, to say nothing of its possible absence, is striking. In Rome [39], the Alban Hills [40] and in Tarquinii [41] it appears very early. At Allumiere it seems as scarce as the horned handle. One or two Faliscan *pozzi*, not of the most primitive style, show examples of it, and it grows quite common in the inhumation graves both of the Capenates and of the Faliscans.

Types 7 and 8. Vases decorated with disks of bronze. (Pl. VII, fig. 3). At one period of the Iron Age there prevailed in Central Italy a peculiar system of ornament for

[38] An example from Mentana (*Not. Sc.* 1923, page 192, fig. 7). forms a link between the Alban Hills (*Mon. Ant.* XV, plate XXIII, 5) and the Capenate district (Villa Giulia No. 14933). A Picene example is given in Dall'Osso, *Guida Illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Ancona*, page 222.

[39] *Mon. Ant.* XV, fig. 112, f. (with hut urn).

[40] *Montelius*, plate 135,6.

[41] Museo Preistorico, Room XXXVII; *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 59, fig. 13.

dark impasto pottery. Small bronze disks or nail heads were pressed into the clay while it was still soft, sometimes to form an orderly geometric pattern, and sometimes scattered quite without design over the body of the vase. In the region of Este in the north this decoration takes the place of the incised and is very common [42]. For a time it is characteristic of the Faliscan territory also, but the fashion did not begin there early and it fell into disuse when the commerce with the Greek islands began [43]. There are almost no examples from the Picene district [44] and there is none certainly identified as Latian, though a pot so decorated is included in Berlin with a group of vases which come for the most part from the Esquiline cemetery in Rome [45]. From Praeneste there is a wooden dish with bronze studs, but Ghirardini who made a special study of the technique decided that this and a similar object from the Guerriero tomb at Tarquinii belong to a different tradition and have no connection with the strange combination of metal and terracotta [46]. In Etruscan towns jars with bronze disks occur in pit graves [47], and not infrequently the covers of cinerary urns are decorated in this way [48]. Sometimes white linear painting is

[42] *Mon. Ant.* VII, col. 77 ; *Not. Sc.* 1903, page 77, figs. 3, 4.

[43] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 229.

[44] One vase of modified Villanovan form is published in Dall'Osso *o. c.*, page 104.

[45] *Mon. Ant.* VII, col. 82.

[46] Ghirardini, *La Situla Italica Primitiva*, etc., *Mon. Ant.* VII, 1897, cols. 100 ff. For the Tarquinian specimen, see *Montelius* plate 288, 8, 11.

[47] Visentium, Florence Museum ; Vetulonia, *Mon. Ant.* VII, col. 88.

[48] For a Tarquinian helmet cover so decorated, see *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 57 fig. 10 ; Monte Sant'Angelo *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 227 ; *Mon. Ant.* VII, col. 90 and fig. 21 ; Vulci, Gsell, *o. c.*, page 262.

used in combination with the metal [49]. There are somewhat doubtful cases of hut urns studded with bronze [50]. It is difficult to say what the origin of this peculiar style may be. Most of those who have studied the subject consider that the use of bronze in connection with pottery is the result of the influence of vessels made entirely of metal [51]. I am rather inclined to think that the fashion springs entirely from a desire to enhance the value of the jar and its pecuniary beauty by adding to it some bits of material of greater price, the same motive which prompts some American Indians to sew pieces of shell to their baskets even when such additions make the woven design less effective by breaking the pattern. Often the pottery shows a complete lack of system in the distribution of the studs which form no ordered ornament and occur in places where there would have been no structural reason for rivets or bosses in a metallic prototype [52].

The practice, whatever its origin, began early in Italy. Pigorini reports an ossuary cover from a terramara settlement at Casinalbo near Modena, and a cup from the Bronze Age station near Taranto [53]. These examples decorated with metal buttons belong late in the Bronze Age. Most of the northern specimens come from the Villanovan period of Bologna or Este. Tarquinii and the Faliscan territory possess the majority of the southern examples. The style usually occurs in places and in

[49] Vulci, Gsell, *o. c.*; Vetulonia, *Mon. Ant.* VII, col. 88.

[50] *Mon. Ant.* VII, cols. 83, 90.

[51] See *Mon. Ant.* VII. cols. 101-106.

[52] Ghirardini himself points out that some of the clay objects decorated with bronze give no suggestion of metal prototypes. *O. c.* col. 177.

[53] *Montelius,* Plate 38, 14; *Mon. Ant.* VII, cols. 114 ff.; *Not. Sc.* 1900, pages 440 f.

tombs where there is eastern import and it reached its height at the time of the heaviest trade with the Phoenicians. Helbig thought that the examples in Tarquinian graves were brought there by Phoenicians or Carthaginians [54]. There are several reasons for believing rather in an Italian origin for the pottery. Nothing to correspond with it is known in Greece or the Orient. Vases so decorated are almost invariably made of the characteristic Italian impasto, usually of dark brown color [55], but occasionally with copper-red slip. When bronze studs are used in combination with other ornament it is always with a type favored in the local work, — plain incisions, incision filled with red ochre [56], or white linear painting on a dark ground. The forms of the vases are characteristic of the local ware, — the helmet cover, the Villanovan cup, the hut urn (?), the Villanovan urn, the small amphora of lenticulate form, the spiral amphora [57], and cups with horned and biforal handles. Ghirardini's opinion is that the technique originated in Etruria and spread from there to the north where it came later into great popularity. The style went out among the people of the Etruscan coast when incineration ceased to be the chief mode of burial, but persisted longer in the Faliscan cities inland. Even there it disappeared after the Greek influence became dominant.

All the Faliscan examples come from inhumation graves. This is quite striking, since those from the coast towns are usually in *pozzi* and it is in line with the increased frequency of " Italic " forms in graves of the Ager Fa-

[54] *Mon. Ant.* VII, col. 100.

[55] *Ibid.*, col. 101. From Narce there is a copper-red deinos in the Villa Giulia (semi-circular gallery) decorated with bronze buttons.

[56] So at Narce, *Ibid.*, col. 95.

[57] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 233, fig. 103a (Narce).

liscus which do not conform to the " Italic " burial customs. The commonest forms which occur in this region with bronze decoration are a cup with one handle (Type 7) [58], and the lenticulate amphora (Type 8) [59]. Approximately the same shapes are found at Volsinii, Visentium, Tarquinii, and Capena [60].

The lenticulate amphora is a jar, usually of small size, with a flattened spherical body and plain ribbon or twisted handles [61]. There are several definite schemes of decoration besides the bronze disks. Sometimes the upper part of the body is grooved with vertical striations, and sometimes it shows instead crescent-shaped furrows framing rounded projections. Examples of the first type appear in the later pozzi of both Falerii and Narce [62], but the form is much commoner in inhumation graves among the Faliscans, the Capenates, and the Veientines. The combination of boss and crescent is found in the Montarano cemetery at Falerii (from a *fossa*), at Tarquinii [63], at Vetralla [64], and in the pit graves of the Roman Forum [65].

Painted pottery is still rare in the earliest trench tombs and is of the sort described above in connection with the later *pozzi*.

[58] *Ibid.*, fig. 99, 1.

[59] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 102. Cp. Villa Giulia No. 2968.

[60] Florence Museum; Museo Preistorico in Rome; Florence Museum. *Mon. Ant.* VII, col. 87. There is also a Capenate example (amphora) in the Villa Giulia.

[61] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 101 a.

[62] Villa Giulia, Stanzina d' ingresso, from Montarano. See also Villa Giulia No. 5732 from a *fossa* of Corchiano.

[63] *Mon. Ant.* VII, col. 84.

[64] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 310, fig. 4 c.

[65] *Not. Sc.* 1906, page 20, fig. 20; page 22, fig. 24; 1911, page 177, fig. 20 b, d.

The *fosse*, then, show a greater number of vases than the pit tombs. Not one of the old type disappears, because even those used as ash urns continue to be included as accessories with inhumation burials. The same basins on stems continue to be popular, and have added a new form to their number by the addition of a high foot to the cup so often used as a cover for the spheroid urns of the later *pozzi*. Handle designs are more varied and the so-called Italic forms are more frequent than with the cremation burials. Some forms which occur but rarely even in the later *pozzi* become common in the *fosse*, and the fashion for decorating pottery with bronze buttons is introduced into this district with trench graves. Except for the change in burial rite there has been no important revolution in local fashions. The connections with the old centers of cremation burial have been strengthened rather than weakened by the changes which have come. Especially with the southern coast of Etruria and with Latium the ties are very strong. One kind of amphora now common among the Faliscans is often called Latian because of its popularity south of the Tiber.

The rite of inhumation is comparatively strong in the Faliscan region and, though it is never used to the exclusion of cremation there, it becomes the dominant custom before the end of Period II. By that time, however, it has also become dominant in most of southern Etruria and Latium. The fact that the Iron Age record begins later among the Faliscans than in many other places makes it seem that inhumation displaced the other rite sooner than elsewhere. The numerous traces of a Stone Age population tempt us to believe that some of the older race survived and strengthened the tendency to bury rather than to burn. However, it must be remembered that many of the characteristics of early Faliscan culture which might

be survivals from the Stone Age appear in other districts of Etruria and Latium where the cremation element is dominant [66], and that there is not a single inhumation grave so far discovered in the Ager Faliscus which antedates the most primitive *pozzi*, or even appears to be as old as they are. If, as seems probable, the first inhumation people to settle there were of a different folk from the cremation stock [67], they must at first have been poor both in possessions and in invention, since they adopted so much from the Italic and added so little of their own. It may be that the beginnings of inhumation among the Faliscans were due to the penetration of people from the Apennines who came down into the plain after the country was opened up by the " Italici " and adopted most of the civilization of the latter as being superior to their own. Our ignorance of the Umbrian and Sabine country makes it impossible to do more than hazard a guess in this direction [68]. At any rate the connections with the inhuming peoples of the Adriatic coast are in the early period far too vague to make it probable that there was infiltration in considerable numbers from the other side of the mountains, and there is even less in the first trench graves to suggest that they were due to the Etruscans.

[66] See Pinza on Latium in *Bull. Comm.* 1900, page 196.

[67] Change of burial rite means change of population. Peet, *o. c.*, page 503.

[68] We have some knowledge of neolithic Umbria (from the station at Terni, for instance: Von Duhn, pp. 440 ff.), but there is not enough material to make a significant comparison between the Faliscan district and the places further inland.

V.

INHUMATION BURIAL OF PERIOD III.

A more distinct break than occurred between the first and second periods comes at the end of the second. Inhumation, which appeared on a par with cremation in Period II, has now become the dominant rite among the Faliscans. Most of the graves have the form of the *fossa con loculo* or of the chamber tomb. A peculiar local development in this district is in the construction of well shafts by which the *camere* could be entered from above after the door was sealed [1]. Pl. VII, fig. 4 shows a cross-section of such a tomb which was destroyed by the cutting for the tramway to Cività Castellana. The toe-holds cut in the side of the well shaft are visible in the photograph. Some of the chamber tombs were used through several generations, and many others which apparently remained sealed for a century or two were reopened and called again into service in the third or second century B. C. The resulting medley of periods in a single tomb increases the difficulty of establishing a chronology for the local pottery especially since most of the chambers were rifled and the vases thrown from their original places.

[1] Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries*[2], I, page 162 comments on the same custom at Ferento which shows a number of Faliscan connections. Cp. report on tomb in *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 93. See also Piganiol, *Origines de Rome*, page 11 and note 2 for a similar system of entrances at Tarquinii and for possible Siculan connection.

Period III brings us into the age known as "orientalizing" because of the number of oriental imports and the profuse imitation of them in local work through Central and Northern Italy. Foreign articles had already made their appearance in the *fosse* and *pozzi* of Period II, but usually in the form of small trinkets which did not effect any radical change in Faliscan taste or customs. A new school of art comes into vogue in Period III and its influence permeates all branches of manufacture. There is no better way of introducing the period than by a detailed description of an interesting series of tombs typical of the age and of the region both in form and in content.

A. Tombs with Tree-trunk Sarcophagi.

A comparatively small number of graves from various towns of Central Italy are recorded as containing sarcophagi made in the following way. A section long enough to serve as a coffin was cut from the trunk of an oak. Then the section of trunk, without being squared or even stripped of its bark, was split, and the two parts roughly hollowed out to make the sarcophagus and its lid. Places where burials of this kind have been found are Pitigliano, Vetralla, Nepi, Corchiano, Falerii, Veii, Gabii, and Rome [2]. It is of course impossible to tell

[2] Pitigliano, *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 92, fig. 5.

Vetralla, *Idem*, 1914, page 356. Apparently the existence of the sarcophagus is inferred from the form of the grave and the position of the contents. *Idem*, 1914, page 313, note 1.

Nepi, *Idem*, page 356.

Corchiano, *Idem*, page 356 and Villa Giulia Museum.

Falerii, Villa Giulia Museum; *Della Seta*, page 48; *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 373; *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 356.

whether more of the same sort were disguised in the reports with such vague descriptions as " cassa di legno" [3] which might mean either a hollowed tree-trunk or dressed boards ; or how many have left their traces only in the pieces of decomposed wood so often noted by the excavators [4]. The Faliscan territory is the center of the region in which we know such graves have been discovered and some of the actual remains of their primitive coffins are preserved in the Villa Giulia [5]. Two of the Faliscan examples are said to have come from *camere*,[6] and all we know of the group belong to the time subsequent to the introduction of the camera form.

By far the most famous of the tree-trunk burials is one discovered at Gabii [7]. It is the only grave known from a place which, lying as it does on the road from Praeneste to Veii, has a peculiar interest as a link between the two sides of the Tiber. For this reason it is so often used that one could hardly be surprised to see its chipped

Veii, *Not. Sc.* 1919, page 6.

Gabii, *Idem* 1889, pages 83 f.; *Mon. Ant.* XV, cols. 394 ff.

Rome, Forum, *Not. Sc.* 1903, pages 161 ff.; 380 ff., 396 ff. 416 ff., *Mon. Ant.* XV, cols. 293 ff. and fig. 110 d; *Not. Sc.* 1905, pages 150, 182 ff.; *Idem* 1911, pages 185 (with note 1), 160. Quirinal, *Mon. Ant.* XV. cols. 249 ff.

[3] See *Della Seta*, page 322: " Il cadavere spesso era collocato dentro una cassa di legno ". (Said of the older *fosse* of the Capenate district).

[4] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 133.

[5] According to Colini (*Not. Sc.* 1914, page 356) the Villa Giulia has tree-trunk sarcophagi from Veii, Nepi, Corchiano and Falerii. I have seen only those from Gabii, Falerii and Corchiano.

[6] *Della Seta*, page 48, *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 373 f.

[7] *Not. Sc.* 1889, pages 83 f.; *Bull. Comm.* 1903, pages 321 ff.; plates III, IV; *Mon. Ant.* XV, cols. 394 ff., figs. 141-143. For the road see Louise Adams, *A Study in the Commerce of Latium*, p. 53 (1921).

and mended pots collapse under the weight of arguments which rest upon them. It happens that the Gabii *fossa* was discovered intact, and though some of the objects which it contained have since disappeared, we still have at least descriptions of the entire deposit, and the greater part of the tomb furniture is preserved with the sarcophagus in the Villa Giulia Museum. For convenience in future reference there follows a summary of the contents, which are typical of the class it represents, and which form one of the few complete groups of pottery known from such graves. The articles of metal included some pieces of silver, which have since disappeared with all the personal ornaments and trinkets enclosed in the coffin; and of one basin, flat-bottomed and shallow, hammered from a single sheet of bronze, and with the rim rolled outward after a fashion already described in connection with the pit tombs of the Faliscans [8]. The vases are of light-colored, painted clay, or of a good grade of impasto. To the first class belong a long, egg-shaped amphora with narrow mouth and with handles high on the shoulders; and two oenochoae, one with round and one with trefoil mouth. The red painting has almost disappeared from the amphora. The oenochoae are decorated with lines and with a simple variant of the wave pattern. The impasto includes nearly all the forms common in local pottery and is a very important collection for this reason. One vase is an oenochoe with tapering neck and trilobate mouth. (*Mon. Ant.*, XV, fig. 141 e). There are three forms of dishes on stems. (*Mon. Ant.*, XV, fig. 142, f, g, h). Of these, *Figure f* is of a shape popular in the orientalizing period. In this case the dish is provided with a cover to match it with a design of interlacing semi-cir-

[8] See above, page 33.

cles and schematized palmettes, an oriental ornament unknown in Period II, but now very common. A cantharus (*O. c.*, fig. 145, o) with twisted handles carries the same sort of decoration. The cantharus is a form introduced in Period III and much used in the local ware both among the Faliscans and in Latium. The grave contained two other cups besides the cantharus. The first (*o. c.*, fig. 143, k) is a rather coarse example of a shape frequently found in brown impasto, in bucchero, and in bronze. Except for the lack of a lip for pouring, it suggests a modern cream jug. The second (fig. 143, n) is a familiar form of low cup with high biforal handle. The illustration does not show clearly the small secondary opening in the handle below the rim. Cups of this type have been described in connection with the pit tombs [9].

A large red crater with a flaring rim (o. c., fig. 144) recalls the spheroid cineraries of the Faliscans. There are three amphorae of dark impasto. The first (fig. 142, i) belongs to the new and important class decorated with incised spirals. *Fig.* 143, l has a high cylindrical neck, crested handles, and a round body incised with vertical striations. *Fig.* 143 *m*, has a lenticulate body grooved on the upper part, a cylindrical neck similar to that of *fig.* 143, *l*, and ribbon handles twisted in wide curves which in profile give the effect of crested handles. This kind of handle is common in Latium in Period III. The one remaining piece of pottery from the tomb (fig. 143, p) was apparently designed to be used as a cover since it is decorated on the convex side with an incised design and there are traces of the attachment of a handle. The pattern shows another departure from the fashion of Period II. Instead of the simple geomet-

[9] See above, page 34.

ric or linear motives which prevailed then, we find here the fish, the serpent, and the winged horse, all very badly drawn with incised lines and filled in with cross-lines and dots. The presence of these orientalizing designs and of the painted vases of potter's clay place this tomb definitely in an epoch later than the first *fossa* graves where the pottery was all of local origin and was without sign of foreign influence in forms or decoration.

The practice of hollowing a tree-trunk is one which would naturally precede any other method of making a large wooden chest in districts where trees of the proper size were plentiful ; and a method which might even continue to be used long after the knowledge and possession of proper tools made dressed boards possible [10]. Splitting and hollowing a log might be accomplished without too much difficulty in the Stone Age, and in fact we know it has been done in the manufacture of dug-out canoes by peoples living under very primitive conditions. What the source of the custom of using tree-trunks for sarcophagi may have been in Italy or in how remote a time it began, we have at present no means of knowing. Neolithic graves found near Montefiascone contained black earth which Von Duhn suggests may have been decomposed wood [11], but we have no certainty of any such prac-

[10] Though it is possible to make a board with wedge and axe, th only efficient way of doing so is by sawing. As long as this must be done entirely by hand labor, planks remain a luxury. According to the Erechtheum building inscription, a carpenter of fifth century Athens could saw 24 feet in a day. At that rate a day's labor would produce only two 6-foot boards even in a place and time for which we may assume greater knowledge of construction than for seventh century Etruria.

[11] Page 28.

tice before a period well on in the Age of Iron when sarcophagi of boards or stone were in common use. At Veii the tree-trunks occur in *fosse con loculo* of Period III [12], and at Pitigliano in a camera tomb in use from the middle of the sixth century to the fifth [13]. Motives of economy could not always have been the reason since tree trunk burials are sometimes rich for the time and place in which they occur. Iron, silver, and ivory are all said to have been found in the Gabii tomb [14]. The imitation of the oaken form in terracotta [15], moreover, suggests that a prejudice in favor of it existed in the minds of some people to whom a long tradition had given it importance. Von Duhn's opinion is that the custom came from the Sabines [16]. This is at least probable, since Sabine influence might easily have penetrated all the places where such burials have been discovered and the Sabines are known to have practised inhumation. However, we are entirely dependent upon conjecture in this matter because archaeology offers no confirming instance from the Sabine district itself.

The Faliscan tree-trunk sarcophagi [17] contained a number of objects which connect them with the Gabii *fossa*. From one of these tombs also all the ornaments had unfortunately vanished, but the other contained bronze fibule with long pins ; rings, bracelets, and chains of the same metal, besides gold spirals for the hair. There

[12] *Not. Sc* 1919, page 6.

[13] *Idem*, 1914, page 92.

[14] *Bull. Comm.* 1903, pages 352 ff.; Ashby, *B. S. R.* I, page 180 ; Helbig, *Führer* II, page 332, No. 1774.

[15] *Mon. Ant.* XV, cols. 249 ff.

[16] Page 368.

[17] Villa Giulia Museum, Sala di Venere ; *Della Seta*, page 48 ; Helbig, *Führer*, II, No. 1789 ; *Montelius*, II, plate 308, 16.

were no bronze vessels, but in both graves were fluted terracotta bowls in imitation of a common bronze form. Two earthenware bowls of the familiar copper-red ware made part of the equipment of the burial. Of spheroid shape with flaring rim and without handles they are of the same form as that of the Gabii *fossa* and others from similar graves in the Roman Forum. The new style of incised pottery is represented by a two-handled brown cup or bowl decorated with a bird. The painted ware of Gabii has a parallel here in a yellowish vase with red linear ornament. It is a hemispherical basin mounted on a stem. One additional feature of these burials at Falerii were large shallow plates of coarse red ware [18]. In each of the sarcophagi one of these was set, with the convex side up, over the pelvis of the skeleton. Two *fosse* of Narce showed the same type of plate similarly placed [19].

The only other tree-trunk graves for which I have been able to find inventories are those from the city of Rome. From the Forum they are Tombs AA, D, G, I, K, M — all graves of children.

Tomb AA [20] contained a lekythos of painted clay (Proto-Corinthian style). The local pottery included a conical cup on a low foot in chestnut brown ware incised with interlacing semicircles and palmettes; a spiral amphora; a cantharus with rams' horn handles; an incised cup with a cover very much like the Gabii example; and a red jar with two handles instead of the plain red bowl with no handles, such as occurred in the corresponding tombs of Gabii and Falerii.

[18] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 116 shows the type.
[19] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 253.
[20] *Not. Sc.* 1911, page 160.

From Tomb D [21] came a small two-handled jar with red painting on a light ground, a typical red bowl with flaring rim and no handles, and an impasto amphora with crested handles and vertical groovings on the upper part of the body much like one from Gabii.

Tomb G [22] had two of the red bowls with flaring rim, a cantharus incised with interlaced semi-circles, a Proto-Corinthian lekythos, and a flat bowl of light clay painted with linear decoration.

Tomb I [23] was rich in beads. It also contained two red bowls (cp. Falerii and Gabii), a one-handled cup and a skyphos painted with linear ornament on a light ground, a spiral amphora (cp. Gabii), and a cup of the peculiar stepped form common in the Faliscan territory [24].

Tomb K [25] contained one of the red bowls, a spiral amphora, one impasto cup incised with interlaced semi-circles and palmettes, two skyphoi painted with dark ornament on a light ground, and one bronze basin with beaded rim instead of the plain rolled edge of the Gabii example.

Tomb M [26] produced a copper-red dish on a low foot, an impasto amphora decorated with bosses and furrows, an oenochoe and a bowl with linear painting on a light ground, and additional Faliscan connections in a fibula hung with incised bronze rings and a semicircular bronze bulla. In this case there were no incised vases and no large red bowl.

It is obvious that there is a strong family resemblance

[21] *Idem* 1903, pages 161 ff.
[22] *Idem* 1903, pages 380 ff.
[23] *Idem* 1903, pages 396 ff.
[24] *Idem* 1903, fig. 43.
[25] *Idem* 1903, pages 416 ff.
[26] *Idem* 1905, page 150.

running through all these tomb groups associated with tree-trunk burial. Even in the Quirinal graves which contained terracotta translation of the older form we find light clay pottery with linear painting, cups with biforal handle, and incised bronze rings [27]. The most characteristic and constantly recurring objects are the painted pottery, the spiral amphora, and the red bowl or crater. Of these the last two are certainly made in Central Italy, but it is difficult to say in the case of the painted vases which, if any, were imported. The forms of the oenochoe and the lekythos are certainly foreign. The same kind of pottery occurs in the Tomba del Guerriero at Tarquinii [28]. Vases of this class from the Forum were called Ionic by Boni [29]. A few actual importations and a great mass of painted ware made under the inspiration of foreign products are a distinguishing mark of Period III among the Faliscans.

The places where the tree-trunk sarcophagi occur are all in a fairly compact group well back from the seacoast in districts where the Sabine connection would be strong if we can place any confidence in tradition or in topographical probabilities.

B. Pottery of Period III.

1.

Painted ware.

From Faliscan tombs dated at the very beginning of the seventh century B. C. there are occasional specimens of pottery which seem to be imported. These

[27] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 250, and fig. 99.
[28] *Monumenti* X, plate X c; *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 264.
[29] *Not. Sc.* 1905, page 155, figs. 12, 13.

are of whitish or yellowish clay and are painted with linear or geometric ornament. The fabric is not fine and the source from which they come is extremely uncertain. The suggestion has been made that they are Cypriote [30]. The reasons for thinking them imported are that they are made of potter's clay fairly well purified instead of the impasto which is apparently the only local medium up to this time, and that the style of ornament is an innovation also. The proportion of foreign to local ware among the Faliscans is always small and the equipment of the average tomb consists predominantly of local pottery with a piece of imported ware or a few bronzes to lend richness to the collection [31]. By far the greater number of imported vases belong to the group of styles inaccurately called Proto-Corinthian and actually made also in various places in the Greek islands, in Sicily, and even in Cumae. The fashion for these vases painted in simple linear patterns or with zones of animals persists in Italy long after the mainland fabrics have become dominant in the Greek world. The Italian centers of pottery-making carry on into the sixth century the forms and the ornament learned from the Proto-Corinthian vases. The shapes popular in the imported vases are the oenochoe with round or with trefoil mouth [32], the skyphos [33], more rarely amphorae [34], and very commonly the aryballos and lekythos. These smaller vases persist longest and are frequently imitated. Imported skyphoi of great beauty have been found in the Faliscan towns and in

[30] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 261 ; *Idem*, XXII, col. 444.
[31] *Idem*, IV, col. 273.
[32] *O. c.*, figs. 129, 130.
[33] *O. c.*, figs. 133, 134.
[34] *O. c.*, fig. 132.

Rome [35]. The delicacy of their technique and the elegant simplicity of their linear decoration contrast with the coarseness and lack of taste too often observed in Faliscan work. The Conservatori Museum shows specimens from Roman tombs which rival in beauty the examples in the Villa Giulia. The form is imitated in *bucchero fino*, especially in the class decorated with fan ornament. The island wares appear for the most part in seventh century graves, that is in *fosse con loculi* or camera tombs with sarcophagi [36], but an early form is reported from a simple fossa at Rignano [37]. Trevignano carries on its Faliscan character into the later period in combining in its tomb furniture Proto-Corinthian with dark impasto and bucchero [38]. Mazzano tombs show the same mixture of local with imported vases [39]. Narce which has comparatively few Greek vases, has produced some fine examples [40].

The distribution of the Proto-Corinthian wares in other places which give evidence of Faliscan contact may be worth noting. Amphorae similar to those from Narce have been found at Tarquinii [41] where imported vases are numerous [42]. At Visentium, on the other hand, the Proto-Corinthian forms are few. In Capena they

[35] *O. c.*, fig. 133 and col. 277. For the distribution of this form, see Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, *Klio*, *Beiheft VII*, 1908, page 82; Pinza, *Röm. Mitth.* XXII, pages 131 f. and fig. 20.

[36] *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 273 f.

[37] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 266.

[38] *Idem*, 1911, page 250.

[39] *Idem*, 1902, pages 321 ff.

[40] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 309.

[41] *Idem*, col. 275.

[42] Caere and Tarquinii are both rich in painted vases. For a discussion of early painted ware in Tarquinii, see *Mon. Ant.* XXII, cols. 382 ff.; Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, page 394; Karo, *Bull. Pal.* XXIV, page 148.

correspond in general to the Faliscan both in the forms which occur and in their numerical proportion to local vases [43]. On the Sabine-Umbrian side of the Tiber, the imported pottery almost certainly came through the Faliscans or the Capenates. The same styles occur there, though in numbers even smaller than west of the river. Otricoli [44] and Poggio Sommavilla [45] both have produced Proto-Corinthian vases which were found together with incised impasto. The kinship between the incised pottery of the Faliscans and of Poggio Sommavilla is noted elsewhere [46]. With every proof of connection between the two sides of the Tiber one is reminded of the famous fair frequented by Umbrians and Sabines at Fanum Feroniae near Mount Soracte [47]. At Terni however, a large inhumation cementery of VII - VI centuries B.C. which offers many evidences of Faliscan influence has produced no Greek vases and very few Italian imitations of them [48]. Evidently the imported pottery which is common enough on the coast made its way only indirectly into these inland regions. It is not surprising to find it very thinly distributed if at all in the hill towns beyond the Tiber if the source of it was, as seems probable, the ports of southern Etruria.

The Corinthian which succeeds the earlier styles is not very prominent in Faliscan tombs. The great

[43] For tombs containing Proto-Corinthian, see *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 379.

[44] *Von Duhn*, page 457; *Not. Sc.* 1909, pages 281-289.

[45] Poggio Sommavilla is across the Tiber from the mouth of the Treia. *Von Duhn*, page 600; *Not. Sc.* 1896, pages 477, 488 f.; *Bull. Inst.* 1837, page 211.

[46] Pages 101, 103, etc.

[47] Taylor, *Local Cults of Etruria*, pages 49 ff.

[48] *Not. Sc.* 1916, pages 191 ff.

collection in a camera of Monte Sant'Angelo [49] has already been cited as belonging to a different circle. Rignano has a cup of low skyphos type, a form which is found both in imported vases and in their imitations, with figures of swans [50]. This cup was found with bucchero of the late seventh century in a camera tomb. The same form occurs at Visentium, but there with simple geometric decoration in red lines on a white slip [51]. Capena again shows correspondence with the Faliscan region. Occasionally we find there an undoubted Corinthian vase like the one in greenish clay from a camera tomb [52], and the influence of Corinthian forms is apparent, but there is not a great quantity of imported material of this character.

Though wheel-made vases of potter's clay are often of doubtful source, the local origin of painted impasto is beyond question. The time of its most flourishing production is the seventh century [53], though it continues into the sixth, and according to some opinions has its beginnings in the eighth. Similar vases are found all through Etruria and in Latium, but nowhere else are they so numerous in proportion to other fabrics as they are in the Faliscan towns [54]. At Visentium, for instance, which shows many points of similarity with the Faliscans, the ware is scarce [55].

There were no painted vases in the older pit tombs

[49] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 273. See above, pages 21 ff.

[50] *Not. Sc.* 1912, page 77 fig. 5.

[51] *Mon. Ant.* XXI, col. 428, No. 16, fig. 13.

[52] *Idem*, XVI, col. 361, Tomb C.

[53] Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, page 400; Karo, *Bull. Pal.* XXIV, page 148. Huelsen, *Röm. Mitth.* XX, page 111.

[54] *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 260 ff.

[55] *Idem*, XXI, col. 496.

except the dark impasto decorated in white. This has already been described [56]. In the late *pozzi con loculo* and more frequently with inhumation burials, the new style appears. Some of the forms are the same as those found in red or brown impasto and some are peculiar to the painted variety. To the former group belong spheroid bowls with or without a high base, tall stands for bowls, stem dishes ; while to the second belongs the *situla*, a deep, quasi-cylindrical pot with a rigid handle arched over the top from edge to edge (Pl. VIII, fig. 5) The situla never appears in plain impasto but is a characteristic Faliscan form in red and white [57]. Painted impasto vases are decorated either in red (or more rarely brown) on a white or cream-colored slip, or in white on red. The technique is by no means the same in all cases. In the first group the jars are modelled from the same kind of impasto used in the copper-red ware. Then a white instead of a red slip is applied to furnish a foundation for the design in red [58]. One situla from Corchiano now in the Villa Giulia Museum has lost large patches of its white coating so that the coarse, pinkish earthenware shows underneath. Red impasto vases with white decoration follow the same process as the copper-red ware before receiving their linear ornament in white. These are much less abundant than the class painted with red lines on a white ground. A variant style reserves spaces of natural red clay between those covered with a light slip so that the effect is similar to red painting on white. Occasionally the division between red and white on such vases is picked out with a black line. There are several

[56] Pages 35 f.
[57] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 269.
[58] Gsell, *o. c.*, page 400 ; *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 260.

examples of this type in the Narce gallery of the Villa Giulia [59], and others from Visentium [60] and Volterra [61].

The motifs used in decorating local painted pottery are in a very simple geometric or linear style. Occasionally animal forms, usually birds or fish, occur, and they are drawn in a manner similar to those incised on pots of dark impasto. The poppy-head vase of Visentium showing a dance of schematized human beings in red and black on a light ground is an unusually ambitious effort [62]. One common ornament consists of a zone of groups of concentric circles [63]. Checker patterns [64], and network or lattice effects with crossed lines are frequent.

Of the common forms one of the earliest to appear is the poppy-head — a spheroid bowl with a flaring rim and trunco-conical base (Plate III, 5). There is a good example (painted in red on white) from Falerii in the Villa Giulia [65]. The Museo Preistorico has a similar vase from Visentium [66] and there are other examples from Pitigliano [67], Sovana (comune di Sorano) [68], Tarquinii [69], and a series from Vetralla [70].

An amphora with light slip and red linear painting is another common type. This occurs in closely sim-

[59] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 416, Nos. 17, 18, and plate vii, 18

[60] For example a poppy-head jar in the Florence Museum.

[61] *Mon. Ant.* VIII, col. 202, fig. 43.

[62] *Idem*, XXI, col. 438, No. 38, fig. 29.

[63] *Idem*, IV, fig. 125.

[64] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 618, fig. 14 (Mazzano); *Montelius* plate 207, 3 (Pitigliano).

[65] Montarano, Tomb XIV.

[66] Room XXXVIII.

[67] *Montelius*, plate 206.

[68] *Not. Sc.* 1903, page 219, figs. 2, 3.

[69] *Idem*, 1907, page 231.

[70] *Idem*, 1914, page 323.

ilar forms in Rome (Esquiline), Veii, and the Faliscan region [71]. A different style of amphora is a tall, egg-shaped jar with a ridge around the shoulders just below the mouth. The Villa Giulia (Nos. 4813, 4814) has two from Falerii painted with birds and stripes in red or brown on cream color, while the Museo Preistorico contains a Veientine example painted with white concentric circles on a red ground. In the Museo Civico at Tarquinia there are examples from Tarquinii. Jars of similar form except for the absence of the ridge around the neck have been found in Rome [72] and at Visentium [73]. Still a third style of amphora from Narce has four handles set on the shoulders and is painted in red or white with a zone of crudely drawn stags and horses [74].

A large spheroid bowl or crater without a foot and usually provided with a stand decorated in the same style occurs commonly in the painted fabric as well as in the dark or copper-red impasto (Pl. VIII, fig. 6). Most of these come from *fosse con loculi* or from camera tombs. One from Narce shows rude human figures mingled with the geometric motifs [75]. A crater with griffin heads applied on the rim is painted in red lines on a white slip [76]. A crater in the same red and white style was found with the stand on which it was designed to rest in a *fossa* of Falerii and described in the *Notizie degli Scavi* [77]. Barnabei publishes a griffin crater painted in white on red [78].

[71] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 452.
[72] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 272, fig. 13.
[73] Florence Museum.
[74] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 268, fig. 127.
[75] *Idem*, IV, col. 267, Tomb N. XLIX, 33.
[76] *Idem*, IV, col. 265, fig. 126.
[77] 1887, page 170.
[78] *Mon. Ant.* IV, plate vii. 15 (Narce).

Another decorated in the same way came from a Narce camera [79] and is now in the British Museum. The Villa Giulia contains a series of painted craters and their supports from Falerii. Several good examples from Narce are in the University Museum in Philadelphia.

Hemispherical bowls or shallower basins on stems are very numerous [80].

One of the commonest dishes made in either plain red or painted ware is a plate such as Barnabei illustrates in his publication [81].

A few examples of water jars painted with geometric ornament seem to represent a much modified form of the Villanovan urn [82]. Two examples from Narce came from *fosse con loculo* [83]. One is made of light clay and is painted in black with figures of horses and geometric designs. A list of similar vases used as ossuaries in late cremation burials is given in *Mon. Ant.* VIII, cols. 143 ff.

The situla, a form already mentioned, is one of the distinguishing marks of the Faliscan district [84]. Besides the example in the Museo Preistorico from Falerii, there is a series in the Villa Giulia from Falerii, Narce, and Corchiano [85]. The University Museum in Philadelphia has others from Narce [86]. The favorite decoration is swastikas and zigzags painted in red on a cream or buff ground. A similar pot from Volsinii in the Florence Museum is another indication of communication along the Tiber.

[79] *Idem*, IV. col. 513. f.

[80] There are three from Tomb XVII, in the Narce gallery of the Villa Giulia. See also *Della Seta*, page 47 on *Montarano* fosse.

[81] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 254, fig. 117.

[82] *Idem*, col. 263, fig. 125; *Von Duhn*, page 376.

[83] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 266 and fig. 137.

[84] *Idem*, col. 269, fig. 128 and plate vii, 22.

[85] For example, Villa Giulia No. 4585.

[86] Catalogue of the Mediterranean Section, No. 155 K, page 144.

While the suggestion for painting geometric ornament on a light ground came from outside of Italy and the pottery made under this inspiration reflects in a debased form the Greek and Cypriote vases, there are reasons for supposing that the mass of the painted pottery found in the Faliscan towns was made in the immediate neighborhood [87]. In the first place it would be hard to imagine the importation from a distance of such great numbers of cheap pots. The workmanship in most cases is poor and the style of drawing the same as on the incised impasto. Moreover, some of the typical forms are undoubtedly local, for instance the shape derived from the Villanovan urn, the supports for large vases, and some of the stem dishes. Copious deposits of clay in easily accessible places [88] made it possible for the Faliscans early in their history to develop the potter's trade and they have followed it ever since. The forms and decoration have always been imitative. Faliscan imitations of Attic Red Figure vases are well known in a later period, and in modern days Città Castellana (Falerii) carries on a thriving manufacture of majolica ware which repeats old designs and even has a specious brown age stain which disappears on the application of soap and water.

A much closer imitation of imported pottery in Period III is clay-coated impasto or buff clay painted in brown, red, or black lines [89]. This is also characteristic of the seventh century and was probably manufactured by the Faliscans or by the Etruscans of Caere or Tarquinii [90]. A favorite form is a low wide skyphos with

[87] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 428.

[88] *Idem*, IV, col. 279.

[89] *Idem*, IV, cols. 280 ff.

[90] Clay vases are more difficult to place than those of impasto. *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 429.

curved sides. The Roman Forum [91], Visentium [92], and Tarquinii [93], as well as Falerii and Narce [94] have all produced examples of it. They are as a rule decorated with a zone of zigzag lines which leave a metope-like space filled with a bird. The amphora of *Mon. Ant.* IV, figure 144 is another shape frequently seen and arybalLoi with linear decoration are a commonplace [95]. Sometimes old forms recur in the light-colored potter's clay. Such, for example, are the egg-shaped cups with ribbon handles [96], or the hydria derived from the Villanovan urn [97] (for form, see Pl. XIII, fig. 18). Barnabei makes the distinction that the bases painted in red (as opposed to brown or black) always follow foreign models in shape as well as in decoration [98]. The forms are usually taken from Proto-Corinthian or Corinthian pottery and the ornament consists of geometric motifs and schematized animals, generally horses or birds. This type of pottery persists in popularity until Attic importation introduces a new fashion.

The distribution of Italo-geometric pottery again shows the Faliscan towns to be connected with Pitigliano, Visentium, Caere, Tarquinii, Veii, and Rome.

[91] *Not. Sc.* 1903, page 137, figs. 17, 52.
[92] Museo Preistorico, Room XXXVIII.
[93] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 231, fig. 33.
[94] Villa Giulia.
[95] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 303, Tomb 10 (Mazzano).
[96] Narce, Tomb LVIII, Villa Giulia, No. 4896; Rome, *Not. Sc.* 1903, page 406, fig. 34.
[97] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 137.
[98] *Idem*, IV, col. 280.

2.

Unpainted Impasto.

The characteristically Italic development in pottery is in the brown or grayish wares which tend as they improve technically toward the fine black of bucchero. A polished brown ware which varies considerably in depth of tone is still common among the Faliscans and their neighbors in Period III. Often the forms are clumsy reflections of the Greek vases and the motifs used in their decoration are borrowings from imported pottery or metal work. Yet for all that, there is a strongly local quality in the impasto pots of this period which makes them the most telling expression of Faliscan taste and gives them an individuality which in part redeems their ugliness. Even at this time occasional handmade vessels occur, but the wheel-made products are much more numerous. The quality of the impasto shows little change from the previous period, though there are examples in which a more carefully purified clay was used, as in the case of the Gabii cover incised with figures of animals. The forms include nearly all those used in the painted ware as well as some peculiar to the dark pottery. There follows a list of the commonest types.

1. Cups or dishes on stems.

Of these there are several varieties. The hemispherical bowl on a high foot, a variant of this form with a wide flat rim, and shallow plates on stems continue in use. To these are added others not known in the earlier period. One of these is of the same shape as the carved ivory cup from the Bernardini tomb in Praeneste[99].

[99] For the distribution of the form, see *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 454. *Della Seta* plate LVII (Praeneste); *Mon. Ant.* IV, plate VI, 9, 10 (Faliscan).

The form is undoubtedly a foreign one in origin [100], but it occurs quite commonly in all grades of impasto and bucchero, sometimes incised with orientalizing designs, sometimes with the dot ornament peculiar to bucchero, and sometimes with a group of striations made on the wheel around the middle of the cup [101]. Its sides are straight instead of curving as in the older stem cups and form an obtuse angle with the flat bottom so that the bowl takes the shape of an inverted truncated cone. The foot is usually trumpet-shaped. In some cases additional supports in the shape of figurines or flat bars variously decorated run from the bottom of the bowl to the base of the foot [102] (Pl. IX, fig. 7). There are also examples of the same shaped cup set on a low ring base [103]. Another deep, straight-sided dish with a high trumpet foot has a ring of projections around the bottom of the bowl. The Gabii tomb contained one of this type [104]. The old, ridged dish which came into fashion in Period II continues to be common, but is varied now sometimes by modelled ornament on the handle or rim or by ornamental cuttings in the foot [105]. Several varieties of stem dishes are shown in *Mon. Ant.* IV, figs. 77-87.

2. Skyphoi (Pl. IX, fig. 8).

These occur in several variations on the Greek models which were imitated also in the painted ware. We

[100] For a Samian example, see *Mon. Ant.* XV, fig. 184.

[101] *Idem*, XV, plate X, 8, 11, 19.

[102] Examples in metal from Caere and Praeneste, *Idem*, XV, fig. 197; in clay from Mazzano, *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 331, Tomb 10.

[103] *Mon. Ant.* XV, plate X, 18.

[104] Gabii, *idem*, XV, fig. 142g; Faliscan, *idem*, IV, col. 201, fig. 87.

[105] See page 51; Brit. Museum Cat. Vases H98, H99; *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 80.

have examples from Falerii [106], Narce [107], Capena [108], Poggio Sommavilla [109], Rome [110], Tarquinii [111], and Vulci [112].

3. Canthari with concave sides and high handles (Plate IX, fig. 9).

Of these there are two types, one a low form which usually has twisted handles [113]. and a taller which commonly has handles topped either by flat buttons or by modelled rams' heads [114]. The cantharus did not appear at all in Period II but during Period III is one of the most popular forms in the Faliscan territory. The Villa Giulia shows numerous examples from Corchiano.

4. Oenochoae.

The oenochoe is also a new form in the Faliscan district in Period III. There are three main styles all represented in the Gabii tomb [115]: a round-bodied form with cylindrical neck and round mouth, a similar form with trilobate mouth and a third with tall neck tapering to a very small trilobate mouth. The last is characteristic of the seventh century and occurs more commonly in incised impasto than the other two [116]. An earlier form of pitcher with uptilted nose is represented by a number

[106] There is an example ornamented with an incised bird from a tree-trunk burial of Falerii in the Villa Giulia; for Faliscan cups, see *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 305 f.

[107] *Idem*, IV, col. 287, fig. 143.

[108] *Idem*, XVI, col. 358.

[109] *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 483, Nos. 11, 12.

[110] Esquiline and Forum cemeteries, *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 454.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Gsell, *o. c.*, page 372.

[113] *Mon. Ant.* XV, plate VII, 1.

[114] *Idem*, XV, plate XVII, 7; IV, fig. 94, plate VI, 7; *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 357, Tomb 53.

[115] See page 66.

[116] For Mazzano example, see *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 335; Narce, Montelius, pl. 321, 14; Falerii, *op. cit.* pl. 319, 2.

of examples, but usually in undecorated impasto with copper-red slip [117].

5. Amphorae.

The amphora, a common form in Period II, continues to be used in a great variety of shapes and sizes. One common style has a flattened spheroid body, cylindrical neck, and crested handles [118]. Another very important form is the so-called Nicosthenic amphora [119] (Pl. X, and XI). Another with round body, short cylindrical neck, and peculiarly awkward handles is less common, but occurs in the Faliscan and Capenate regions and farther up the Tiber [120]. There are examples also from Aufidena and from the other side of the Apennines [121]. The coarse, egg-shaped amphora from Gabii has counterparts in the Faliscan territory and in Veii [122].

6. Plates with flat bottoms and wide, flaring rims (Pl. XI, fig. 14).

These are made in all grades of impasto. The incised design is often on the bottom of the outside, but is not invariably so placed. Great numbers have been found at Mazzano and the Villa Giulia has good examples from Narce [123]. The Esquiline cemetery in Rome produced the same types [124].

[117] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 249, fig. 111.

[118] *Idem*, XV, fig. 143b from Gabii.

[119] *Mon. Ant.* VI, fig. 103a-d.

[120] Clusium, Florence Museum. One of typical form, but dated in sixth century published from near Spoleto in Umbria, *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*, II, page 98.

[121] Aufidena, *Mon. Ant.* X, col. 290, fig. 32c; Offida (Ascoli-Piceno), Museo Preistorico; Belmonte, Dall'Osso, *Museo Naz. di Ancona*, plate facing page 140, middle section.

[122] *Mon. Ant.* XV., col. 454, and fig. 141b.

[123] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 335, plate 14; *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 253 f.

[124] *Idem*, XV, col. 452.

7. Spheroid bowls with low ring base, flaring rim, and no handles (Plate III, 6).

There has already been occasion to refer to these bowls which are numerous in Period III [125]. They are not unlike the ash urns of the later *pozzi* except for the lack of handles which are usually found in some form on the cineraries. In copper-red ware and undecorated they are common as accessories with *fossa* burials and there is a whole series from the graves with tree-trunk sarcophagi [126]. Sometimes several of different sizes are found in one grave. There are cases of their use as accessories with cremation burials where the urn is of Villanovan type. The same form in many different sizes is repeated over and over again in Etruscan and Latian towns and a typical example from Novilara shows that their distribution went even farther [127]. They are much more rarely made in dark impasto. Usually they are left without ornament, but sometimes are decorated with narrow flutings or with incised figures.

8. Spheroid craters (Pl. VIII, fig. 6; Pl. XIII, fig. 15).

These differ from the type just described in having no base, a wider mouth, and usually a narrower rim. They are common in painted ware or in red or brown impasto decorated in graffito, with flutings or with modelled ornament [128]. Often they are found with tall stands on

[125] Page 67.

[126] See above, pages 67 f. Similarly a Villanovan urn occurs with inhumation burial at Veii, *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 354.

[127] Visentium, Museo Preistorico; Marsiliana d'Albegna, Florence Museum; Nepi, Museo Preistorico and *Not. Sc.* 1918, page 17; Ferentum, *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 93; Trevignano, *Not. Sc.* 1913, page 42, etc. etc. Novilara, *Mon. Ant.* V, plate XII, 20.

[128] Mazzano, Camera tombs nos. 67, 70, 97, 63, 53, etc. *Not. Sc.* 1902, pages 598, 602, 613, 594 f., 351. See also, *Mon. Ant.* IV, figs. 105, 107, For distribution, see notes on form 9.

which they are designed to rest. The combination of crater and stand in large sizes is especially characteristic of the late seventh century.

9. Supports for craters of form 8.

The stands are made in the same ware as the craters and decorated to match them. Naturally they show the same variations in size and style as the bowls for which they are designed. The commonest form consists of a conical or hemispherical base surmounted by one or more spherical protuberances and an open, flaring top on which the crater rests. Sometimes there are triangular or arrow-shaped cuttings in the base, but these are often lacking. The frequency with which the solid form occurs militates against the theory that they are braziers intended for practical use, even though they may be derived from objects intended for such a purpose. It is a question whether the crater and stand developed from the small impasto braziers common in Latium in the early Iron Age, and in the Faliscan and Veientine regions in Period II. So far as the form alone goes there is every reason to believe that they did. A rudimentary form in dark impasto has already been described in connection with a Montarano tomb [129]. There are small impasto examples from the older tombs of Latium and Veii which seem to show a tendency to develop toward the peculiar ball-like swellings of the seventh century stands [130]. The connection is usually denied because the later stands are supposed to be derived from imported models in bronze. One fact which seems to support the theory of different origins for the earlier and late styles is the distribution of the seventh century form. The small braziers of the

[129] Pages 47 f.

[130] See drawings in Plate V.

early period are almost entirely limited to Latium and the adjacent districts of southern Etruria which were in close contact with Latium, while the seventh century stands occur in most of the lower Etruscan towns, and are very numerous among the Capenates and Faliscans [131].

Curiously enough there are no examples from Visentium which has so much in common with the Faliscan territory [132]. Except for the bronze examples from Satricum and Praeneste [133] (both places marked by strong Etruscan influence) I know of none of the usual monumental size from Latium, unless we may infer the existence of a pottery stand for one of the typical craters decorated with panther heads which was found in Rome [134]. It is dangerous to assume an unmixed ancestry for any artistic form and I think that we can trace in the bowl and crater combinations of the seventh century the fusion of two distinct lines of development, one native to Italy, and the other to the eastern Mediterranean. The Italic source has already been suggested. The reasons for supposing any foreign influence to be at work are supplied partly by the pottery examples and partly by the bronzes which at one period certainly helped to determine the clay form. One of the clearest evidences of the alien hand is a pottery stand from Bologna [135] made in the typical double-ball shape, but technically so

[131] Pitigliano, *o. c.*, plate 207. 7; Vulci, Chiusi, Caere, Tarquinii, Orbetello, Gsell, *o. c.*, page 375; Nepi, *Not. Sc.* 1910, page 199; *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 455; *idem*, IV, col. 266; *idem*, XVI, col. 437.

[132] *Idem*, XXI, col. 496.

[133] *Della Seta*, page 248 (Satricum); Curtis, *Bernardini Tomb, Mem. Am. Ac* III, No. 81, plates 58, 59; Della Seta, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1909, pages 165, 182, fig. 13.

[134] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 455.

[135] See note 131.

much finer than the other examples found in Italy that it is almost certainly of Greek workmanship. Since no such object is known in the Greek world, however, this seems a case in which a foreign potter made to Etruscan order a form peculiar to Italy, just as Nicosthenes in later days supplied amphorae of a shape popular in southern Etruria and apparently made them only for that export trade [136]. Bronze supports of the double-ball type are rare, but exist both at Satricum and at Caere [137]. The workmanship is too coarse to give any clear indication of the place of manufacture, but it is not impossible by any means that they are local [138]. The ornament of winged animals and floral patterns is certainly inspired by oriental models, but we have seen the same borrowed motifs applied in several branches of local art. On the other hand, the cauldrons associated with bronze supports of this type are decorated with applied figurines and heads of animals which in some cases at least are undoubtedly imported. Some of the griffin heads and winged handle figures are exactly similar to others found all over the Greek world and even in southern France [139]. However, cauldrons of this kind when found in the east are supported by tripods [140] (as they are in Italy in some cases) [141], and not by the *sostegno a bulla* which seems a form developed in Italy. It would be interesting to examine the

[136] S. B. Luce, *A. J. A.*, 1925, pages 43 ff.

[137] Satricum, *Della Seta*, page 248; Caere, Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, frontispiece.

[138] Fernique, *Etude sur Préneste*, page 181. Barnabei, however, calls the Caeretan stand Phoenician, *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 243.

[139] For full description of such a cauldron, see Curtis, *o. c.*, No. 75 with notes and plates 52-54. For distribution, see Adams, *Study in the Commerce of Latium*, page 39.

[140] Curtius, *Olympia*, IV, plates 46-48, 114-126.

[141] Vetulonia, Randall-MacIver, *o. c.*, page 133.

cases from Vetulonia, Caere, and Praeneste, to see whether the cauldrons decorated with imported figures are ever used with the Italian form of support, or whether this is reserved for the local imitations (in clay or in bronze) of the foreign style. The Greeks apparently made their bronze cauldrons for use over a fire, a purpose for which the solid Italian stands of thin bronze plates are entirely unsuited [142]. The mere fact that a form exists in bronze as well as in pottery does not prove that the bronze is the prototype. The flat flasks, for instance, which occur in bronze and in clay go back to Egyptian models in glazed porcelain [143]. A glance at the collection of forms of Plate V will show that the evolution of the double-ball type of stand from clay prototypes is at least possible, and I think it likely not that the terracotta specimens imitate those in metal, but that the bronzes were made to supply to wealthier purchasers articles originally made in a cheaper material. Some of the later stands and craters undoubtedly show the influence of bronze in their decoration (chains, figures in full relief), but not necessarily in their form.

For typical Faliscan examples of craters and stands, see Pl. VIII, fig. 6, Pl. XIII, fig. 15; and *Mon. Ant.* IV, figures 106, 107, 124.

10. A series of bowls, amphorae, and one-handled jugs in plain impasto taper from the middle of the body toward the top in a succession of steps or ridges. These are so common among the Faliscans that the form may

[142] See the anecdote of the miracle at Olympia in Herod. I, 59. A Lydian dedication at Delphi described by Pausanias (X, 16.1) as shaped like a truncated cone might possibly be like the Praenestine supports, but verbal descriptions are always capable of various interpretations.

[143] *Mon. Ant.* XXI, col. 487.

have originated with them. There are numerous examples from Falerii [144], Mazzano [145], and others from Clusium [146], and Pitigliano [147], from Nepi [148], Veii [149], Mentana [150] and Rome [151] (Plate III. 7, 8, 9).

11. A cup or jug with one high handle[152] (Plate III, 10).

This has already been described in connection with the Gabii tomb [153]. With slight variations the form occurs in impasto, in bucchero, and in bronze, and is a very common type [154].

12. Jars of a shape reminiscent of the Villanovan urn, Pl. XIII, fig. 18.

These occur both in painted ware and in impasto with incised decoration [155].

13. Fluted bowls.

These apparently imitate a bronze type and are referred to elsewhere in two connections [156].

14. Tripod dishes.

These may be either flat plates or shallow bowls set on three feet. They occur most commonly in copper-red, but occasionally in painted ware. There are numer-

[144] *Idem*, IV, col. 259, figs. 93, 94, 123.
[145] Camera 64, *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 596.
[146] *Montelius*, plate 216, 7.
[147] *Idem*, plate 206, 7 and 13.
[148] Museo Preistorico.
[149] Villa Giulia and Museo Preistorico.
[150] *Not. Sc.* 1923, page 188.
[151] *Mon. Ant.* XV, fig. 120 o, and col. 308.
[152] *Idem* IV, figs. 148, 151 ; Villa Giulia No. 3836 (Narce gallery).
[153] Page 67.
[154] To Pinza's list of places where it occurs (*Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 454) we may add Caere (Villa Giulia), Veii (*Not. Sc.* 1922), Capena (Museo Preistorico), Satricum (Villa Giulia).
[155] Page 80 ; *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 147.
[156] Pages 70 f. See *Mon. Ant.* IV, figs. 119-121.

ous specimens from the Faliscan [157] and Capenate [158] districts, Latium [159], Tarquinii [160], Caere [161], etc.

Of the styles of decoration applied to vases in Period III incised or graffito is by far the most important. The drawing and in many cases the motifs employed correspond to those of the painted impasto described above [162], but the incised pottery shows more originality in strange ways of its own. Old elements which survive from the first and second periods are triangles, zigzags, dotted bands, swastikas, meanders, impressed dots or circles, and groups of parallel lines. The practice of filling the incisions with red or yellow ochre has also been noted in earlier times [163]. New designs are for the most part curvilinear and include the double spiral, semi-circles intersecting to form festoons, palmette and lotus combinations, and rosettes, besides animal forms, — birds, fishes, horses, goats, hybrid monsters, and more rarely, rude human figures. Fabrics so decorated include brown impasto of all grades, bucchero, impasto with copper-red slip, and a chestnut brown ware of somewhat finer technique than the common dark impasto.

An example of this chestnut brown ware has been mentioned from the Gabii *fossa*. This was the dish cover incised with animal figures [164]. The class does not include those obvious mistakes where the intention is to

[157] *Idem*, IV, plate VII, 177.
[158] Museo Preistorico.
[159] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 453.
[160] Museo Civico at Corneto Tarquinia.
[161] Villa Giulia Museum.
[162] Pages 77 ff.
[163] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 452; *idem*, IV, col. 291; *Not. Sc.* 1887, pages 173 f.
[164] Page 67.

make a black jar and the furnace wills otherwise, so that a parti-colored surface results. It is confined to a clearly distinguishable group of vases with a rich, red-brown surface and a polish of the same sort as the copper-red ware. It is limited both in quantity and in period. The copper-red pottery continues in tombs with Attic vases, but the chestnut-colored apparently belongs exclusively to the orientalizing period. The surface is sometimes so beautifully polished that it gives the effect of highly finished wood and recalls the wooden bowls with engraved designs made by the modern Japanese. Occasionally the vases depend on the polish alone for ornament. The Museo Preistorico (Room XLI) has a fine, undecorated cup from Veii, and from Orvieto there is in the Florence Museum a hemispherical bowl without decoration. In the Villa Giulia are a variety of forms from the Faliscan towns. One is a two-handled jar with a terraced neck such as those described under form 10 [165]. Some of the spiral amphorae to be discussed at length hereafter are of this ware[166]. The decoration, when there is any, is invariably incised and uses orientalizing motifs. Some of the specimens are inferior technically and the drawing of the designs is unskilful. An example of this group in the Villa Giulia is a spheroid vase of form 7 [167] in shape like the glass gold-fish bowl of modern times and adorned appropriately enough with a row of fish and a meander. Of the same quality is a skyphos with hatched triangles (Villa Giulia No. 3545). A cantharus (No. 5783) and a stem cup (No. 4698) are exhibited in the Villa Giulia from Corchiano and the griffin heads which survive from

[165] Page 91.

[166] For example, Villa Giulia No. 3348.

[167] Page 87. The example here is from Tomb LXI.

a crater of Falerii in Room II are of the same ware. Chestnut brown pottery is common in the Capenate district where it is more frequent in proportion to copper-red than at either Falerii or Narce [168]. The Conservatori Museum shows from Roman graves a considerable number of incised vases in this fabric. They include spiral amphorae, an olla incised with winged horses, a cantharus with an incised bird, another with winged horses, a plate with palmettes and one with interlaced semi-circles and roses instead of palmettes. These vases make another close tie between Roman *fosse* and the Capenate district. Elsewhere in Latium the chestnut brown pottery appears at Satricum in the votive offerings at the temple of Mater Matuta [169], and from the country to the north of the Faliscans the Orvieto example already mentioned and another from Tuscania (No. 2781) are in the Florence Museum.

A seventh century form which regularly bears incised decoration is an amphora of the type called Nicosthenic [170] (Pl. X and XI). The body of the vase is full and round, the neck slightly tapering, and the handles of wide ribbon shape are attached at the lip of the vase and at the line of the shoulders. The form suggests a metallic prototype and some of the finest bucchero examples are so sharply modelled that they might at a little distance be mistaken for metal themselves. Since the fabric varies from a poor grade of dark impasto to the finest bucchero [171] the series forms one of the best classes for studying the development of Italic pottery. Spiral amphorae

[168] Villa Giulia and Museo Preistorico.

[169] An oenochoe and a spiral amphora in the Villa Giulia.

[170] Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre* II, page 329 (C 5, 6, 7).

[171] For the two extremes compare Villa Giulia Nos. 9010 and 5027. See also *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 234.

are almost invariably dark brown or black but there are a few specimens with copper-red slip. One such from Caere decorated with spirals and a bird is in the Villa Giulia, and another from Capena is in the Museo Preistorico (No. 65435). Spiral amphorae vary in height from 10 to 45 centimetres. The larger examples (e. g. Villa Giulia No. 9010) are always coarser and less artistically decorated. The form is a distinctive one and common in the tomb furniture of a definitely limited area. Not only does the same shape of vase occur in many places, but the decoration applied to it hardly varies in its essential features. Running the length of the flat handles are groups of parallel lines which are often set diagonally to parallel the similar striations on the body of the vase instead of the edges of the handles. (See Pl. XI, fig. 12). Below each handle and extending on either side part way around the body of the vase, are groups of parallel lines forming a W. Between these a double spiral (usually of many turns) is incised on the front of the jar. Subsidiary ornament (a bird, a fan, a rosette, a conventionalized branch, or some simple geometric detail) may be added above the spirals (Plate IV). The spiral does not occur in the decoration of pottery in Central Italy during periods I and II of the Iron Age when any curvilinear design is extremely rare [172]. It comes into southern Italy as a result of foreign contacts during the Bronze Age, but there is no recorded instance among the Faliscans except in one example of the " dotted band " technique before Period III when it was probably re-introduced from a new source [173]. Other motifs incised on spiral amphorae

[172] There are one or two instances in the north. See page 11.

[173] The date of the Faliscan specimens is uncertain. See page 14.

and due to foreign influence are the dot rosette such as commonly occurs on painted vases of the Corinthian and Rhodian styles [174], incised rosettes in a variety of forms[175], fish [176], birds [177], and palmettes [178]. On the other hand, some of the subsidiary ornament belongs to the oldest school of pottery, very simple incised geometric motifs or a combination of incised lines and dots (Plate IV). One large jar from Narce [179] has an elaborate but crude series of triangles filled with dots or with a net work of crossed lines. In spite of the general conformity to a set pattern which must have had one definite place of origin, details vary so much and are so strongly affected by local taste that it seems probable that the spiral amphorae were made near the places where they were to be used and that there were several centers of manufacture. I have found only one case where the spiral is painted on the vase instead of being incised. This is an amphora from Corchiano (Villa Giulia No. 5934) which is marked in almost the same red-brown color as the surface of the jar [180]. Substitutions for the spiral occasionally occur (Pl. X, fig. 11; Pl. XI, fig. 12). The commonest is a pair of circles or a double spiral of one turn enclosing rosettes or star patterns.[181] Falerii has one marked with a Maltese cross and one with a single circle enclosing a four-petaled

[174] See Plate V. Falerii, Villa Giulia No. 3492; Narce, Villa Giulia No. 4889.

[175] Capena, Museo Preistorico, Case 20; Narce, Villa Giulia 5089 4495, 4727; Caere, Villa Giulia 22343.

[176] Narce, Villa Giulia 4795, 4796; Caere, Villa Giulia 22343.

[177] Narce, Villa Giulia 5156; Falerii, Villa Giulia (bird substituted for spiral); Gabii, Villa Giulia 6685.

[178] Satricum, Villa Giulia (Central case).

[179] Villa Giulia 9010.

[180] Guide lines for incision which was never made?

[181] Falerii, *Montelius*, plate 326, 7; Narce, Villa Giulia 4995.

rosette [182]. An example closely similar to the latter came from Capena and is also in the Villa Giulia. Trevignano has a cross enclosed in a broken circle [183]. Sometimes the W ornaments under the handles encroach so far on the front of the vase that there is no place for the spiral [184]. Substitutions and elaborations of the original design are a mark of lateness. The form was in continuous use for more than a century and the oldest examples are decorated only with the spirals, sometimes a small ornament above the spiral, and parallel lines on and under the handles.

Evidently the spiral amphora was an important object to the people who used it. Even if we discount more heavily than Barnabei does the frugality which prompted a citizen of Narce to mend such a vase with lead wire after it was broken [185], we can not fail to see that the type has a special place in tomb furniture. What the origin of it may be is an interesting question. Gabrici traces it to Cumae where he sees the prototypes of the whole series in some small amphorae represented in *Mon. Ant.* XXII, plate XVII, 1 [186]. The Cumaean amphora is almost hemispherical with a flat bottom and four protuberances at the line of greatest circumference. Under each handle and on each face of the jar a small spiral of one turn is drawn with a blunt point (four in all). The neck is very short. Tarquinii has produced specimens somewhat like this, but I doubt the relation which Gabrici concludes with the seventh century amphorae of Central Italy. His statement that the amphorae grow scarcer as one moves

[182] Both in the Villa Giulia.

[183] *Not. Sc.* 1911, page 248, fig. 2.

[184] Narce, Villa Giulia 4477; Marino, Museo Preistorico; Veii, Museo Preistorico No. 68088.

[185] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 234.

[186] See cols. 86, 96, 130, 132, 195 of the same volume.

farther from Campania does not agree with the facts. There are far fewer in Latium than in the Veientine and Faliscan regions or in southern Etruria in general. Barnabei's view that the spiral amphorae were manufactured in large numbers in some one place on the southern Etruscan coast seems more probable [187]. In maritime Etruria they are found at Caere, Tarquinii, Vulci, Magliano; among the Faliscans and Capenates at Falerii, Narce, Mazzano, Corchiano, Trevignano, Rignano, Leprignano, Castel Nuovo di Porto; farther up the Tiber valley at Clusium; in Veii; in Latium at Gabii, in Rome (Esquiline and Forum), in the Alban Hills, and at Satricum; and in the Sabine country at Cantalupo-Mandela [188].

One of the early dated examples is not in clay, but in silver. This was discovered in the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere. It is of small size about ten centimetres high and conforms in shape and decoration to the most conservative style of spiral amphora. It bears an Etruscan inscription [189]. The existence of such a vase in one of the most famous tombs of Etruria suggests the possibility of an Etruscan origin for the series. Perhaps it was from Caere that the use of them spread through all the districts in contact with that city. They do not occur with cre-

[187] *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 233 f.

[188] Gsell, *o. c.*, page 371 gives examples (with references) for Vulci, Clusium, Tarquinii, Veii, Falerii, Caere, Albano, Gabii. Paribeni in commenting on Capenate examples adds Rome (*Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 434, note 4). Barnabei (*Mon. Ant.* IV, 233f.) and Pinza (*Mon. Ant.* XV, 453) also discuss their distribution. For Rignano, see *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 267; for Corchiano, the Villa Giulia Museum; for Mazzano, *Not. Sc.* 1902, pages 323, 610; for Trevignano, *Not. Sc.*, 1911, page 248; for numerous examples from Veii, see unpublished material in the Villa Giulia. Amphorae of spiral shape but without spiral decoration come from Nepi (Museo Preistorico), Ferento (*Not. Sc.* 1902, page 93).

[189] *Montelius*, plate 339, 9 a and b.

mation burial, but with inhumation in *fossa* or *camera* tombs. By far the greatest number come from the Faliscan territory where a single tomb of Mazzano often contained several [190]. Sometimes they occur in pairs exactly similar [191]. Proportionately they are fewer in Capena, though common there. It is interesting to note that in many Faliscan tombs the spiral amphorae are associated with dark impasto plates incised on the bottom of the outside with a star pattern enclosed in a polygon [192] (Plate XI, fig. 14). Both the plates and the amphorae appear so regularly in burial furniture that one is tempted to the dangerous conclusion that there was some ritual reason for the use of these particular forms. The star or rosette pattern on the plates varies somewhat, but a hexagon enclosing a six-pointed star occurs on many, as well as on bronze in the Regolini-Galassi tomb (*Montelius*, plate 339, 13), on the shield of the warrior stele from Vetulonia, where, by the way, the double axe also appears (*o. c.* plate 189, 11) and in slightly modified form on the bottom of a silver cista from Praeneste (*Monumenti* VIII, plate XXVI, 2) and on the bottom of an ivory pyxis from Marsiliana (Minto, *Marsiliana*, page 222 and fig. 14c). This pattern, like the spiral, is a common Mycenaean motif [193]. It must be confessed, however, that a rose or star makes a convenient and obvious composition

[190] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 610. Tombs 90 and 93 each contained four.

[191] Villa Giulia Nos. 5089 and 5090 with rosettes substituted for spirals. The Faliscan fondness for duplicate vases has often been remarked.

[192] The Mazzano report in *Not. Sc.* 1902 gives numerous examples. The Villa Giulia has many from Narce. A typical specimen is illustrated in *Montelius*, plate 327.5.

[193] On gold and ivory, Perrot and Chipiez VI, page 550, fig. 233; page 638, fig 285. Gsell, *o. c.*, page 371 suggests a Mycenaean origin for the spiral.

for filling a circular space, and that the same six-pointed star enclosed in a circle or hexagon has been common in many parts of the world and is still used on barns in Pennsylvania to ward off lightning [194]. It may be only a coincidence that star plates and spiral amphorae are so often found together and that star or rosette patterns are so frequent on the amphorae themselves, but since these patterns are not native to Italy it may be that we should look for their source in some place where the local art is marked by Mycenaean reminiscences. There is a possible clue in a Cypriote-Phoenician patera from Dali on which a number of designs common in the Italic pottery of Period III are used to fill the central circle [195].

Impasto plates decorated with stars on the bottoms are not common outside the Faliscan territory and the adjacent regions, but they occur in great numbers in Mazzano and Narce [196], and examples are known from Capena [197], from the border town of Trevignano [198], and from Poggio Sommavilla [199] on the Sabine side of the Tiber. Among the Faliscans they remained long in fashion, since one of modified form was found in a third century tomb of Falerii [200]. Apparently the plates were never in fashion in Veii in spite of its close connections with Narce, or in Tarquinii where I have found no examples and where plates of plain red ware are also scarce.

It can readily be inferred from the number of vases

[194] L. B. Holland, *A. J. A.* 1918, page 398.

[195] Perrot and Chipiez III, fig. 548.

[196] Villa Giulia Museum and *Not. Sc.* 1902, pages 326 ff., Tombs 4, 12, 16, 36, 41, 51, 54 (2 examples), 65 (3 examples).

[197] Museo Preistorico.

[198] *Not. Sc.* 1911, pages 247 ff.

[199] *Idem*, 1896, page 477, No. 11.

[200] *Idem*, 1911, page 254, No. 8.

already mentioned as bearing such decoration how frequently the double festoon of intersecting semi-circles occurs on incised impasto [201]. A schematic lotus bud or palmette usually serves as finial at the ends of the arcs. In one case from Rome (Conservatori Museum) roses are used instead. Ornament of this kind, extremely simple and conventionalized, but giving a strong suggestion of eastern influence, is widespread in Italy during Period III[202]. Much more distinctively Faliscan and at the same time much uglier are vases decorated with animal forms in graffito. All those motifs mentioned in connection with the painted pottery[203] occur in this medium also. Doubtless the original suggestion of using figures of animals in the decoration of pottery came from imported models. The local artists welcomed the innovation with amazing enthusiasm and developed, debased, and transformed the borrowed patterns until some of them, especially the winged horse, become distinguishing marks of the Faliscan and Capenate regions. When Dionysius of Halicarnassus summed up the fancied resemblances between the "Argive colonists" of the Faliscans and their Greek motherland, he was apparently unaware of their passionate love for horses which agrees so well with Homer's epithet for Argos. The Faliscans use the horse not only on painted and graffito vases, but it appears cut on a carnelian scarab of Corchiano [204], very commonly in the modelled ornament of pottery, and in bronze pendants and fibulae [205]. The method of drawing the horses varies so

[201] See above, pages 68, 70, 71.

[202] *Mon. Ant.* XV, fig. 117 i, fig. 124 c (Rome); fig. 142 f. (Gabii).

[203] Page 77.

[204] *Not. Sc.* 1886, page 155.

[205] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 368; Dall'Osso, *o. c.* page 301.

much in detail that a first glance at such a collection as that in the Villa Giulia might suggest that the different specimens had nothing in common except their remarkably poor execution. A further examination will show, however, that they are divided into schools which might by patient study be assigned to definite localities and so help to illuminate the obscure relations of Italian cities. In the hope that somebody may follow up the suggestion, I have set down the results of my own observation which is so limited that the results are necessarily meagre.

In the first place there are several distinct styles of drawing in the incised work aside from the countersunk designs called by the Italians " al incavo " and discussed below [206]. In one school the whole figure is drawn with double lines which are usually, though not invariably, filled in with cross-lines or dots. This is common in Poggio Sommavilla and other places on the same side of the Tiber [207]. The method seems akin to the old " dotted band " technique of the neolithic artists and the rare examples among the Faliscans probably came to them from across the river. Then there are designs drawn in single lines with relatively little detail. A familiar trick among the Faliscans is the placing of a double spiral on the horse's haunch so that it gives the effect of a brand. The University Museum in Philadelphia and the Villa Giulia both have examples of spiral amphorae on which a horse with a spiral on his haunch takes the place of the double spiral in decorating the jar (Plate X, 11). A horse from Pitigliano [208] has a star pattern on the haunch and his body filled in with zigzags. The haunch spiral may be a devel-

[206] Pages 109 ff.

[207] *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 481, fig. 4 (Poggio Sommavilla); *idem*, 1914, page 7, fig. 1 (Terni).

[208] *Idem*, 1898, page 52, fig. 3.

opment from a schematization of muscle lines on that part of the animal's body, but it is more likely that the ashion had its beginnings in the general archaic dislike for an undecorated space. Definite prototypes in imported vases are suggested by the existence of a Greek oenochoe which has for decoration a horse not only marked in this way with a spiral, but with the peculiar foreleg to be seen on many Italian examples[209]. The leg is drawn with an unbroken line running all round the joint (Plate X, 11). Leprignano (Capena) in particular has many so rendered, and here inner lines with purely decorative intent follow the contours so that the upper part of the leg has the appearance of the cross-section of an onion. A cantharus from Praeneste shows a horse whose foreleg is drawn with a continuous line, but filled in with straight crosslines instead of the series of curves [210].

Horses are usually, though not always, winged. In Capena where winged creatures are the leading motif in decoration, one olla shows three graffito horses, each with two pairs of wings [211]. The manner of drawing the wings and their position on the body is another point to be observed. In many cases they have departed so far from the original form that they have little or no resemblance to wings. Such are the sickle-shaped attachments on a horse from Poggio Sommavilla [212]. The problem of showing both of a pair is an awkward one for an unskilled draftsman and consequently unnatural dislocations are of frequent occurrence. The Praenestine horse referred to above has one wing growing from the chest and the other from the back of the neck. The habit of adding

[209] *Monumenti*, IX, plate V.
[210] *Mon. Ant.* XV, plate XVII, 7.
[211] *Idem*, XVI, col. 343.
[212] *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 381, fig. 4.

appendages to the horse's body works with the artist's instinctive *horror vacui* to create strange monsters by planting the heads of other animals, usually goats, on the backs of their horses [213], and by transforming the tail of the beast into a serpent to produce a result very like the traditional chimaera. That the monsters of the imagination must be composed like dreams from familiar elements is shown by the substitution here of the horse for the lion. Lions and panthers are not in favor in the local art and the sphinx seems lacking altogether. The goat is common enough among the Faliscans, but I suspect that it came to them from their neighbors the Capenates over whose lands Mount Soracte looms so conspicuously. That they had an opportunity to observe this creature in its natural state is suggested by a story of Cato [214] that there was on that mountain a race of wild goats which could leap sixty feet at a bound ! No wonder that the local potters gave them wings, and even a few extra heads at times. The goat is much more frequent in the Capenate than in the Faliscan district and often takes the place of the winged horse. A stamnos with two winged goats came from Civitella San Paolo and in the same place goats with extra heads on their backs are represented in the intaglio technique [215]. Obviously there was no necessity for natives of that district to go to the Aegean for goat models as has been suggested, because of a vase from Caere decorated with Milesian wild goats [216].

The heads of horses sometimes suffer odd transformations also. Sometimes they show an approach to natur-

[213] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col 358, Tomb XCVII.

[214] Cato, ap. Var. *De Re Rustica* II, 3. See Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries*, I, 135.

[215] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, cols. 371 f.

[216] Prinz, *o. c.*, page 91.

alism, or failing this, are hammer-shaped; but in other cases they are elongated into a kind of bird's beak, or finished off in a cloven form more suggestive of a fish's tail than of a horse's muzzle [217].

Impasto vases incised with figures of horses, besides being found in great numbers among the Faliscans and Capenates [218], are known from Caere [219], Vulci [220], Pitigliano [221], and Veii [222]. From Latium examples from Gabii and Praeneste [223] have already been mentioned, and among the Sabines and Umbrians there are more numerous cases of Faliscan connection in this respect at Otricoli [224], at Città di Castello [225] above Perugia, at Terni [226] and most of all at Poggio Sommavilla [227]. As early as 1837 [228] reports began of the discovery in this place of dark pottery with red painting in lines. Though no more exact description is given it seems safe to suppose that here also we have a reference to red-filled graffito such as later investigation on the same site proved abundant there [229]. The forms of the vases on which the winged horse occurs vary considerably. The cantharus [230] is perhaps the commonest shape so decorated, but the same beasts frequently

[217] Again see Poggio Sommavilla, *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 481, fig 4.
[218] See *Mon. Ant.* XVI, cols. 452 f.
[219] Villa Giulia Museum.
[220] *Montelius*, plate 259, 18.
[221] *Not. Sc.* 1898, page 52; 1913, pages 334 ff.
[222] *Idem*, 1889, page 62.
[223] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 398, fig. 143 p, plate XVII, 7.
[224] *Von Duhn*, page 457; *Not. Sc.* 1909, pages 281-298.
[225] *Von Duhn*, page 188.
[226] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 6; 1916, page 204, fig. 12.
[227] *Idem*, 1896, pages 488 f.
[228] *Bull. Inst.*, page 67.
[229] *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 483, Nos. 11, 12
[230] Falerii, *Not. Sc.* 1887, page 173.

appear on the large craters with their supports [231], on amphorae [232], on oenochoae [233], and on skyphoi [234].

The bird and the fish appear in many different schemes, usually with bodies filled in with lines parallel to the contour or with dots (punteggiatura) (Plate IX, 8). Incised fish on dark pottery occur at Tarquinii [235], Caere [236], and Capena [237], as well as in the Faliscan territory [238]. Examples of incised birds have already been given in the course of the discussion of spiral amphorae. Birds follow the same general styles as other incised figures. Their bodies are filled in with dots, or with lines parallel to the outline, or in Rome with curious, double-curved cross-lines. (See drawings in Plate IV). Often only birds' feet save them from being mistaken for slugs or tadpoles. In Poggio Sommavilla [239] they are drawn in the double line already mentioned in connection with the horses of that region.

Human figures are rarer. Though the motif of horse and rider is known in bronze work both in full relief[240] and in repoussé [241] designs, I have found no instance,

[231] Capena, *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 343, fig. 62.

[232] Capena, Villa Giulia Museum.

[233] Capena, *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 304, Tomb XX; Caere, Villa Giulia.

[234] Capena, *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 358, Tomb XCVII; Poggio Sommavilla, *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 483, Nos. 11, 12.

[235] *Montelius*, plate 296, 2.

[236] Villa Giulia No. 22343.

[237] Museo Preistorico, Tomb XVI; *Mon. Ant.* XVI, fig. 55.

[238] Villa Giulia, Nos 4795, 4796 (Narce).

[239] *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 484, figs. 7, 7a, 7b. A clay flask similar to this is now in the Boston Museum, but the exact provenance is not known.

[240] On the feet of tripods at Tarquinii and Vetulonia, *Montelius*, plates 291, 15; 178, 21; 181, 14.

[241] Ridgeway, Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse, page 103.

in all the hundreds of incised vases decorated with horses, of a horse being ridden by a man except one possibility in a very rough design on an oenochoe from Pitigliano[242]. From Narce there is an oenochoe showing a centaur with human forelegs (Mon. Ant. IV, col. 289, fig. 146) and two jars of a shape derived from the Villanovan urn which show scenes of armed men, monsters, and horses (*Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 298, fig. 147). All these figures are drawn with a wide furrow filled with dots. The effect is of a double line, but it is hard to say whether to class this decoration as incision or as intaglio. The centaur has a haunch spiral like the Faliscan horses. The style of the drawing suggests that the artist belonged to the Poggio Sommavilla school, though all the motifs he has chosen are from oriental art.

In the inland towns of the Faliscan and Capenate districts and of the upper Tiber valley, the taste for incised pottery extends over a long period of time, since it runs through all the age of orientalizing art and in these remoter places even continues in the time when Attic wares were setting the fashions for most of Italy. Graffito ornament is applied to a great many different forms of vases, some of which are old favorites, and some, innovations of the orientalizing period. The ratio of incised to painted vases varies according to the time and place. Incised impasto is rarer, for instance, in Vulci than in Latium. It is in high favor with the Faliscans, but is even more popular in the Capenate and Umbrian towns. Recent discoveries at Mentana[243] supply an important link between the pottery of the Capenates and Latins during Period III.

[242] *Not. Sc.* 1898, page 52, fig. 3.
[243] *Idem*, 1923, pages 188, 192, fig. 6.

Incised decoration, though one of the most characteristic local expressions, is by no means the only sort which is applied to dark impasto jars. Stamped ornament which has been used in simple forms from the earliest times continues its popularity for some types of vases and develops into a recognized style in the sixth century. It is common in Caere and in Veii, particularly in large jars with red slip, and is sometimes combined with deep, vertical striations, which cover the body of the vase with grooves and leave a space for a stamped zone at the top [244]. Jars of this character sometimes have modelled figures as handles for the covers. Stamped ornament partakes of the nature both of decoration in intaglio (al incavo) and of low relief, and may appear in combination with either of these or with graffito.

The taste for countersunk designs began very early in Italy since Stone Age fragments with a rudimentary form of this decoration have been found in the hut foundations of the Vibrata Valley [245]. It is chiefly in the Capenate district that the technique (*intaglio al incavo*) flourishes in the Iron Age [246]. It consists of impressing or cutting out the designs so that their surface is sunk below that of the vase. Usually there are traces of a white or red filling, and sometimes the two colors are combined to give on the dark background of the impasto a polychrome effect rare in native Italian pottery [247]. Designs vary to include the simplest patterns (triangles, circles, palmettes, a kind of wave pattern similar to that painted

[244] Pellegrini, *Fregi* etc., *Studi e Materiali* I, page 108; Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries*, I, page 489; *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 489.

[245] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 466.

[246] *Idem*, XVI, cols. 465 ff.

[247] See 2 canthari of Falerii in the Villa Giulia.

on the Gabii oenochoe) [248], as well as more ambitious efforts in the direction of animal forms. The horse and the goat are the favorites. The geometric ornament is sometimes made after the manner of graffito by using a blunt instead of a pointed instrument so that a wide furrow results. To countersink the entire profile of a winged animal is a greater tax on the artist's skill. Sometimes incavo is combined with sharp-point incision [249], or with stamped patterns or bosses [250]. It is a common ornament among the Capenates and spreads through the districts in contact with them. Paribeni refers to examples of the technique from Clusium, the Faliscans, Ferento, Saturnia, Poggio Sommavilla [251]. The Florence Museum has an example from Vetulonia [252], while vases from Terni [253] and Città di Castello [254] prove that the style was known in Umbria. Most of the Faliscan examples have the simpler designs, such as triangles or swastikas [255]. Apparently the style never prevailed in Veii, in Latium, or in the towns of the Etruscan coast. Except for the scattered examples north of the Faliscan territory, the ware is limited to the Capenates, Faliscans, Umbrians and Sabines. Various forms of vases are so decorated

[248] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 397 c, d.

[249] Poggio Sommavilla, *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 480, fig. 3.

[250] Terni, *idem*, 1902, pages 479 ff, figs 7, 8.

[251] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, cols. 465 ff. (Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, page 343, C 546; Villa Giulia Nos 4711, 4712, *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 290, fig. 147; *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 92; Saturnia examples unpublished; *Not. Sc.* 1896, pages 479-83). He alludes in the same place to an example from Vulci (Gsell, *o. c.*, page 368, plate III, 1) which both from the plate and from the description seems to be in relief rather than in intaglio.

[252] Circolo di Pietre Bianche, *Not. Sc.* 1895, pages 308 ff.

[253] *Not. Sc.* 1916, page 206, fig. 15.

[254] *Idem*, 1902, pages 479 ff.

[255] See Montarano *fossa* graves in the Villa Giulia.

a modified Villanovan jar with incavo made with a blunt instrument [256], amphorae of several types [257], a poppy-head vase [258], but the favorite form is the cantharus. Poggio Sommavilla has several of these, one with griffin heads on the handles and elaborate winged horses cut on both faces of the vase [259]. In Capena the cantharus commonly has rams' head handles and is decorated with figures of horses [260] or goats [261].

Patterns (generally triangular or arrow-shaped) (Figures 2, 15, 16) pierced all the way through the body or base of a vase are of two kinds. One has a reasonable origin in the bases of stem dishes intended for use over a fire. This follows a long course of development and eventually becomes purely decorative [262]. The other could never have served any practical purpose and in fact would destroy the usefulness of the vase as a container unless the openings were filled in with some other material. Three skyphoi pierced with triangular openings were found at Capena [263], and a Faliscan oenochoe in the Villa Giulia is treated in thes ame way. Pinza publishes a cup from Rome with squares cut in the sides and round holes in the bottom (*Mon. Ant.* XV, plate iii 9), and a cup with similar decoration from Corneto (Tarquinii) is shown in *Montelius*, plate 290, 16. Novilara has produced examples of this technique variously used [264] and

[256] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 312, fig. 71 (Capena).

[257] Museo Preistorico (Capena); *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 489, fig. 7 (Città di Castello); *idem*, 1896, page 479, fig. 2 (Poggio Sommavilla).

[258] *Not. Sc.* 1902, pages 479 ff, fig. 8.

[259] *Idem*, 1896, page 483, fig. 6.

[260] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 344.

[261] *Idem*, XVI, col. 304.

[262] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 198, figs. 81, 84, 85, 87, 106 107.

[263] *Idem*, XVI, col. 300 and fig. 53.

[264] For example, see *Montelius*, plate 149, 13.

it is possible that the custom came into the Capenate and Faliscan districts from the inhumation peoples of the interior. All the known examples are from inhumation burials. Pierced decoration for handles is much commoner and has no connection with the custom of perforating the body of the vase. It might easily arise from the imitation of bronzes.

Modelled ornament for impasto pottery is also common. Of this there are three main divisions : reliefs on the body of the vase, figures or parts of figures modelled in the round and used as handle decorations, and figures or parts of figures set on the rims of vases (Plate XII, 16). Modelled decoration of a very simple sort began in the local pots of Faliscan *pozzi* and *fosse* of Period II [265], and had been known in Italy from the Bronze Age. One of the devices used on small amphorae from the earlier tombs (bosses surrounded by semi-circular furrows or ridges) continues in a developed form on the later wheel-made pottery. This motif is repeated several times around a stem dish with triple cutting in the base which is now exhibited in the Villa Giulia [266]. Fluting or ribbing was also a feature of the earlier impasto and continues on later vases, but naturally with increased regularity and sense of form [267]. (Plate XIII, 15).

With the use of animal or human figures incised or painted on vases of Period III, the same motifs begin to be used — though less frequently — in relief [268]. An unusually elaborate example of this kind of decoration is shown in *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 105. Between two bands of fluting is a zone filled by a man standing between two

[265] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 101 a.
[266] *Idem*, IV, fig. 107.
[267] *Idem*, IV, figs. 120, 121, 154.
[268] *Bull. Pal.* 1910, page 109.

horses. On the lowest division of the vase is another horse placed upside down. The design in its crudeness and complete lack of surface modelling suggests gingerbread figures. A human figure used for a handle appears at Narce [269]. The Museo Preistorico shows several somewhat similar from Visentium [270]. A kindred ornament consists of figurines — usually of horses — set on the rims of vases [271]. One of these is from a late pit tomb [272].

Heads of griffins, panthers, horses, oxen, rams, also occur in full relief and applied to the rims of craters or cups. The origin of this custom is certainly in the great bronze cauldrons which in the seventh century were imported into Etruscan towns from the east [273]. Terracotta imitations of these were evidently made in great numbers for people who could not afford the luxury of imported bronzes. Heads of panthers evidently intended for use on a cauldron were found on the Esquiline in Rome[274]. A similar set from Caere (in dark impasto) is in the Villa Giulia [275]. Examples in yellowish clay with red ornament, or in red slip with traces of white painting exist from Narce, Caere, and Vulci [276]. A Narce cauldron is published in *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 126, and Montelius (plate 322, 2, 3) shows two such from Falerii. The British Museum possesses from Falerii a handsome example with the stand

[269] Camera 66, *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 600.

[270] E. g. No. 51762.

[271] *Mon. Ant.* IV, figs. 83, 84, 85, 86. Also a fragment in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Figure 16. Compare a bronze in the Ancona Museum published by Dall'Osso, *o. c.*, plate facing page 58).

[272] *Von Duhn*, page 378.

[273] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 440.

[274] *Idem*, XV, plate XI, 26, 30.

[275] See also *Montelius*, plate 334, 9-11 from Caere.

[276] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 455.

which was made for it [277]. It is of copper-red ware and ornamented with the heads of four griffins. The mouths of the monsters are open and chains hang from their tongues. Traces of white appear on the cauldron. As might be expected, Capena is not without examples of a type in fashion both in Rome and among the Faliscans. Paribeni publishes a bowl in dark impasto with four griffin heads [278]. The cover has the figure of a horse for a handle (cp. Caere, *Montelius*, plate 334,7) and is decorated in intaglio with winged horses to correspond to the goats in the same technique on the bowl.

The climax of the development in Italic impasto is bucchero, which is so much better known than the other native fabrics that it seems unnecessary to dwell at great length on the excellent examples from the Faliscan territory. It is a fine black ware with a polished surface. There is no better place for studying its development through all grades of impasto than this region [279]. *Bucchero fino* the thin-walled variety of the seventh century is fairly common, but the heavy of the succeeding period is rarer. The first appearance of true bucchero is in camera tombs and the forms imitate Greek pottery [280]. One of the oldest and most successful shapes is a deep skyphos of the form which appeared among imported painted vases [281]. A typical decoration consists of fan-shaped groups of dots made with a sharp-pointed instrument (Plate IX, 7). Fan bucchero is plentiful in Falerii,

[277] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, H 105; Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, plate 56.

[278] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, plate III, 3.

[279] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, Introduction, page XXVI; *Mon. Ant.* XXVI, col. 65; *idem*, IV, cols. 293 ff.

[280] *Mon. Ant.* VI, cols. 296 ff.

[281] *Idem*, IV, col. 305, fig. 154.

Veii, Caere, and Tarquinii [282]. Other forms used in fine bucchero are the oenochoe (usually the shape with round mouth) [283], a high handled jug mentioned under bronze and impasto vases [284], the cylix [285], and a cup on a high foot [286]. This last is one of the most frequent types and is sometimes varied by the use of figurines as support (Plate, IX, 7). A type of female figure with flowing hair is common to Caere and Falerii. Practically all forms used in impasto can be found in bucchero, but some occur much more rarely than those which have been mentioned. The Louvre has some large stands in bucchero, for instance, of the same type as the bronze and impasto examples already described [287]. Typical lists of bucchero vases are given in the descriptions of tombs from Mazzano and Trevignano [288].

C) Personal Ornaments, Arms, and Utensils of Metal.

A much greater wealth of ornaments and jewels marks the third period and, though some of the old forms continue, these are often translated into more precious materials [289] and there are many innovations. However, the smaller objects suffer so heavily from time, from theft and from confusion of arrangement that they are less valuable evidence than local pottery which is almost inde-

[282] Gsell, *o. c.*, page 477.

[283] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 153 (Narce).

[284] *Idem*, IV, col. 303, fig. 151 (Narce).

[285] *Ibid*, fig. 155.

[286] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 332, fig. 8 (Mazzano); *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 306

[287] Pages 88 ff.

[288] *Not. Sc.* 1902; 1911, page 250.

[289] For example, spirals of gold instead of bronze, *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 384.

structible and which offers no great reward to riflers of tombs in ancient or modern times. Iron and silver corrode easily and gold adheres to the fingers of chance discoverers. Many a report begins with " nessun oggetto di valore " because the grave had been opened in antiquity or, in the case of casual discoveries, because the finder had expurgated the collection before notifying the government. In spite of the distortion of the evidence in such ways, it is obvious that the number and variety as well as the intrinsic value of personal ornaments has been greatly increased since the days when a few " eye-beads " or a paste figurine made the chief treasures of a tomb deposit. It is impossible now, however, to draw any safe conclusions from the proportion of precious metals found in any one grave, and most of the valuable and intricate pieces of Faliscan jewelry have been separated from the groups with which they were found and so have lost all interest except as separate specimens of technical excellence. There is no place in a brief study of this kind for objects which have so little direct bearing on chronology or on local history. Detailed descriptions of gold, electrum, and silver objects from the Faliscan territory are available in *Monumenti Antichi* IV, cols. 347-397 (Cozza and Barnabei); in Milani's *Studi e Materiali* III (Karo); and in the *British Museum Catalogue of Jewelry*. It is sufficient to say that among the Faliscans also we find gold ornaments in the granular technique characteristic of the seventh century graves of Etruria and Latium [290], and that the Faliscan examples sometimes show the same combination of incredibly delicate technique with almost incredibly bad design. A fibula from a camera tomb of Falerii [291] is decorated with the figure

[290] Curtis, *Mem. Am. Ac.* I.

[291] *Not. Sc.* 1887, page 310, plate VI, 3.

of a duck in full relief and with granular geometric ornament and is typical of the class. The most charming of the Faliscan gold ornaments are the beads whose surface is covered with a simple design in lines of very fine granules [292]. The existence of these objects and of elaborate electrum girdle clasps [293] in Faliscan graves shows that here also penetrated the work of goldsmiths who contributed marvels of skill to the great treasures of Vetulonia, Caere, and Praeneste, though no one tomb as rich as those has ever been found on a Faliscan site. Necklaces of tubular silver beads are another link with Caere, Tarquinii, Visentium, and Vetulonia [294]. Gold pendants with masks or human figures stamped on the gold sheets from which they are made appear in Narce as well as in Vetulonia and Visentium [295]. Beads of rock crystal and transparent glass which were very rare in the older graves are found in the *fosse* of Period III [296]. Even from a comparatively remote town like Corchiano the Villa Giulia shows granular gold beads, bits of ivory, and a silver girdle clasp [297]. It is improbable, as Karo stated long ago [298], that there was any local jewelry work of importance among the seventh century Faliscans. Their treasures which can nearly all be matched in Veii, Caere, Tarquinii, and Vulci probably came to them from the south Etruscan coast — directly from Caere or perhaps through Veii which was at this time rich and powerful and in close contact with the Faliscans.

[292] *Mon. Ant.* IV, fig. 173. Similar beads from Veii are in the Museo Preistorico.

[293] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 355.

[294] *Mon. Ant.* XXI, col. 470; IV, col. 357.

[295] *Idem*, XXI, col. 466; *Studi e Materiali*, III, page 155.

[296] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 377.

[297] Nos. 5740, 5849.

[298] *Studi e Materiali*, III, page 158.

Small vases of green Egyptian glaze [299] and occasionally vessels of silver [300] are reported from tombs of Narce and remind us that the wares usually thought due to Phoenician commerce penetrated also to the inland towns. Glass beads of the sort found in the earlier tombs continue in use but play a less conspicuous part in the burial furniture [301]. Amber is used until the beginning of commerce with the Greek mainland, that is, until the end of Period III [302]. The quantity in which it occurs in Faliscan tombs links them with those of Picenum where it is strikingly plentiful. The Faliscans used it for beads, fibulae, and a great variety of pendants, which are listed in *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 382 ff. The pendants include the crouching ape (*o. c.*, plate XII, 12) which occurs in amber also at Vetulonia [303] and Praeneste [304], and which is a common motif in other materials at this time [305].

Ornaments of bronze are of course more easily preserved than those of precious metal and so are a more valuable index. Fibulae are among the most numerous of them [306]. One common form has a hollow, boat-shaped arc and is in many cases decorated with inset discs of amber. The Praenestine type with button-like excrescences on either side of the arc occurs in bronze and in silver.

One form with solid arc is cast with three protuberances in the shape of ducks or of animals' heads. These

[299] *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 312, 315, 320.
[300] *Bull. Pal.* 1898, page 140.
[301] Eisen, *A. J. A.* 1916.
[302] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 381.
[303] Falchi, *o. c.*, page 102, plate VII, 4.
[304] Castellani Collection in Rome.
[305] In black and yellow paste at Mazzano, *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 325.
[306] For types, see *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 367.

are found in Suessula [307], Rome [308], Corneto [309], Orvieto, Florence [310], and Vetralla [311]. The twisted serpentine type has gone out of fashion in Period III. Pendants of bronze or copper are numerous and include a great variety of forms. An interesting one from Montarano is in the shape of a double axe surmounted by a duck. This occurs also at Caracupa in Latium [312]. A single-bladed axe with a duck is common in the Italian Iron Age [313]. Another form from Montarano is cast in the shape of a horse and recalls the pendants of Picenum [314]. Copper combs with rings for suspension have been found both at Falerii and at Narce [315]. A common form which has a special interest because it occurs in Rome is a semi-circular bulla made by folding over a thin disk of bronze [316]. The Villa Giulia and the University Museum in Philadelphia both have examples of the type. The Philadelphia specimen is decorated with a rude stamped pattern of a horse and rider (?) between groups of concentric circles (Plate XII, 17).

Elliptical plaques of bronze, curved to follow the line of the body, were obviously designed to be sewed to girdles of cloth or leather. One of these is shown in place

[307] *Montelius*, I, plate II, 16.
[308] Esquiline Cemetery.
[309] *Montelius*, II, plate 282, 2.
[310] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 446.
[311] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 314.
[312] *Idem*, 1903, page 321 and fig. 38.
[313] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 395.
[314] Dall'Osso, *o. c.*, page 301.
[315] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 361. For other examples, see *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 391.
[316] Esquiline, *Mon. Ant.* XV, fig. 38 and col. 86; Forum, *Not. Sc.* 1905, page 161, fig. 25; Satricum, *Not. Sc.* 1909, page 255, note 1.

on the skeleton of a woman in a *fossa* grave of Vetralla [317]. The decoration of these girdle pieces shows a combination of hammered and incised ornament such as occurs on the bronze helmets of Etruria and on " leaf fibulae" [318]. The designs are exactly similar in many specimens found in different towns. Rows of bosses combined with geometric patterns and incised figures of ducks and snakes are commonest. Girdle clasps of the same sort are found on both sides of the Apennines, in the Faliscan and Capenate regions, among the Sabines and Umbrians, in the coast towns of Etruria, and in Latium. Evidently they are generally diffused through all the places where a kindred culture exists in Central and Northern Italy [319]. They usually occur in graves of women, but there are some cases in which the sex of the possessor is doubtful [320]. Several typical examples have come to light in Rome [321] and there are many from Veii and the Faliscan territory [322]. Another type of bronze plaque (a girdle clasp or pectoral) is apparently worn exclusively by men. It is quadrangular and has incurving sides. This is more characteristic of Capena than the elliptical form, occurs also in Rome, and seems to be a sign of connection with the eastern side of the peninsula [323].

Vessels of hammered bronze are numerous in Fal-

[317] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 326, fig. 19.

[318] Montelius, *Vorklass. Chronologie*, Anhang E, pages 208 ff.

[319] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 370; XV, col. 257, fig. 104; *Bull. Pal.* 1909, page 146; Orsi, *Cinturoni Italici*, pages 29 f., plate II, 22-29, 32; Ghirardini, *Not. Sc.* 1882, pages 157 ff.; Déchelette, *Manuel d'Arch. Préhist. Celtique et Gallo-Romaine*, II, 1, page 434.

[320] Note 317; *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 370.

[321] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 257, fig. 104.

[322] Villa Giulia Museum.

[323] Capena, Villa Giulia and Museo Preistorico, *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 399; Rome, *idem*, XV. col. 135; Aquila *Not. Sc.* 1893, pages 266 f.

iscan graves, but they have no distinctively local character [324]. Some forms, in fact, are so widely distributed that they tell nothing about trade connections. Among the most important are two types of bronze basin hammered from a single sheet. The first is fluted with wide ribs like the ridges on a melon. It is very common in the *fosse* and *camere* of the seventh century. The Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia contained no less than seven of them [325]. Gsell lists examples (*o. c.*, page 402) from Praeneste, Veii, Caere, Visentium, Volsinii, Clusium, and Vetulonia. Among the Faliscans and Capenates the form occurs in bronze and is imitated in clay [326]. It is interesting to note that the same form appears to be common to all the great seventh century cycle of tombs to which the Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini, and Barberini tombs belong. Another common bronze basin has a flat bottom and a beaded rim. One from the Montarano cemetery of Falerii is shown in *Mon. Ant.* IV, plate VIII, 14, and the Villa Giulia has an imitation in pottery with copper-red slip from Falerii. Sometimes bronze bowls of this kind are set on three feet, (flat strips of bronze or heavy wire), rivetted near the rim. In Period III, they are found in Vulci, Clusium, Vetulonia, Visentium, the Faliscan towns, and in Latium in Rome, Praeneste and Caracupa[327]. The tripod bowl thus formed (and which, by the way, is frequently found in variant forms in terracotta both among the Faliscans and at Caere) is in use at the same time with

[324] For general discussion of hammered bronzes, see *Bull. Pal.* 1910, page 100.

[325] Falchi, *o. c.*, page 142.

[326] Examples from Falerii and Narce are exhibited in the Villa Giulia (e. g. No. 4921). See *Mon. Ant* IV, cols. 256 f., fig 119; and for Capena, *Mon. Ant.* XVI, fig. 34, (both bronze and pottery).

[327] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 218; XV, col. 197, fig. 96.

separate tripods made of rivetted strips of bronze and used as supports for bowls either of bronze or clay [328]. Flat flasks, the prototypes of which are those of greenish Egyptian glaze, are widely distributed through Central Italy at this time. The form does not occur in bronze in Faliscan graves, but exists there in dark impasto [329]. A small covered bowl or pyxis of hammered bronze occurs both at Narce and at Falerii [330], and in many Etruscan cities, especially Tarquinii. Ducati has published a study of the type [331]. He decides that they were made first in Central Italy and from there spread to Bologna, whence the Picene examples came instead of by trade across the mountains [332]. Bronze urns of a form apparently derived from the Villanovan cinerary have been found at Narce [333]. The Falerii jars that Barnabei publishes as having the same origin seem to me to have no connection with the Villanovan urn [334]. The distribution of bronzes of this description has already been investigated. Gsell [335] lists examples from Tarquinii, Vulci, Orvieto, Clusium, Cortona, Vetulonia, Bologna; Ghirardini [336] others from

[328] For examples from Rome and the Faliscan territory, see *Mon. Ant.* XV, figs. 92, 93, 94; IV, col. 218, fig. 99 a, b, c, d, plate VIII, 8, 13. The Museo Preistorico has a similar tripod from Veii. This seems to be the favorite local form of a utensil common all through Etruria in a variety of designs. For a recent discussion of early forms, see Karo, *Röm. Mitth.* 1920, pages 130 ff.

[329] *Montelius*, plate 268, 1a-d, 2a, b, c. In bronze in Visentium, Vetulonia, Volterra, Tarquinii, *Mon. Ant.* XXI, cols. 487 f. A Faliscan clay example from Narce is in the University Museum in Philadelphia.

[330] *Mon. Ant.* IV, parte VIII, 4 and fig. 99 f; Villa Giulia 3134.

[331] *Bull. Comm.* 1912, page 28.

[332] For a Novilara example, see *Montelius*, plate 150, 11.

[333] Villa Giulia 4409; *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 216.

[334] *Idem*, IV, fig 99a, b.

[335] *O. c.*, col. 265.

[336] *Not. Sc.* 1882, pages 153 ff.

Bologna, Tarquinii, Caere, Praeneste, and Hallstatt. It is striking that there is no specimen from Latium except from Praeneste where Etruscan influence is very strong. Montelius publishes from Narce an unexplained bronze object [337] which has little interest except for its forming another link with Veii. It consists of a series of pipes surmounted by ducks. The Museo Preistorico exhibits two similar bronzes from Veii [338].

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 21, 1) makes the statement that the Faliscans differed from the Etruscans in the armor they used, especially in their shields and spears [339]. So far the discoveries of the excavators show little difference except that the Faliscans possessed, or at least buried, fewer weapons. In this respect they are closer to the Latins among whom rich deposits of arms and armor are rare [340]. A sword found on the Esquiline has an exact parallel from Narce in the antennae of the pommel and in the wooden sheath wrapped in bronze wire [341]. The crested helmet so well known from Tarquinii and other Etruscan towns does not appear at all in Latium. From Falerii there is only a terracotta imitation of the type, and from Narce one imposing bronze example which is much like one from Veii in the Villa Giulia [342]. Knives with wavy blade and one edge are

[337] Plate 313, 14.

[338] *Montelius*, plate 348, 6, 8.

[339] Deecke, *Die Falisker*, pages 13, 18.

[340] An exception is the Esquiline *fossa* which contained shield, helmet, spear, and fragments of a chariot. *Mon. Ant.* XV, cols. 144 f.

[341] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 436, plate XV, 5; IV, col. 395, plate XI, 11.

[342] The clay specimen is from a Montarano pozzo in the Villa Giulia (*Della Seta*, plate XXVI); the Narce bronze is in Philadelphia (University Museum No. 64). The contents of the tomb which included it were bought from an antiquity dealer and are open to suspicion at least as to their exact provenance.

common to Rome and the Faliscan district, but unfortunately they are too widely scattered to make the connection particularly significant [343]. Shields frequently found in seventh century tombs of the more pretentious sort are thin disks of bronze with hammered designs in concentric circles. Perhaps they were originally backed with leather or some other material to make them sturdy enough for use. Their fragility in their existing state has led some to suppose that they had a ritual or symbolic purpose or were intended solely for decorating the walls of the tomb.[344] Similar shields have been found in Tarquinii, Caere, and elsewhere in Etruria as well as in the Faliscan territory, in Rome, and in Praeneste. The three examples from Narce all came from a single camera tomb [345]. I have seen none mentioned except from inhumation burials. Barnabei found in a Narce *pozzo* what he took to be the central boss of a heavy shield intended for an actual defensive weapon [346]. From the existing fragment it is impossible to say with certainty whether or not his interpretation is correct. The lance heads discovered in Faliscan tombs are of no assistance in tracing connections with other places [347]. Bronze axes occur in some of the later Faliscan *pozzi* and in the earlier trench tombs [348]. Sporadic finds of somewhat similar instruments belonging to the Bronze

[343] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col 438, plate XV, 6. These occur in Latium at Praeneste, Caracupa ; in Vetulonia, Limone, Piediluco, and other sites in Etruria (*Mon. Ant.* XV, cols. 426 f.) ; in Bologna (*Montelius*, plate 69, 3 ; 78, 5-12) ; at Palombara Sabina (*Not. Sc.* 1902).

[344] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 396 ; Orsi, *Museo Ital. di Antichità Class.* II, 1888, page 121.

[345] *Della Seta*, page 90, plate XXIX.

[346] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 396, plate VI, 10.

[347] *Idem*, IV, plate XI, shows the principal types.

[348] *Idem*, IV, col. 387, plate XII, 2, 3.

Age have been made in the Faliscan territory and the adjacent regions [349].

Distaffs of bronze-covered wood found in Falerii and Narce have counterparts in Vetralla and in Caracupa [350]. They usually come from trench graves which contain colored glass beads and elliptical girdle clasps of the type described above [351].

The existence of bits and trappings for horses in many graves of Northern and Central Italy raises some interesting questions as to when and by what people the horse was first used in the peninsula as a domesticated creature; at what time he began to be ridden as well as driven; whether the wheeled vehicles found in tombs are always, or even often, chariots; whether chariot burial is a custom belonging to one branch of the population or used by all; and what may be the origin of some curious Roman religious customs in which the horse plays a part. It is difficult to say when bones of horses are found in neolithic deposits whether they are remnants of kitchen refuse or the skeletons of family servants [352]. There is little suggestion of horsemanship in the earliest art of Italy and even after the motif of horse and rider begins it is impossible to tell how much of the suggestion comes from foreign models in art and how much from actual experience [353]. Models of chariots or carts are fairly

[349] Allumiere, Veii (Colini, *Not. Sc.* 1923, pages 172 f., plate III, 5).

[350] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 387, plate XII; *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 326, fig. 19; 1903, pages 289 ff.

[351] Page 119.

[352] Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages of Italy*, page 87; Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, pages 91 ff.

[353] Ridgeway (*o. c.*, page 103) concludes that the Umbrians knew how to ride in the 7-6 centuries B. C. because of the decoration on a cista from Sesto-Calende (Ticino). The existence of a third century

common from *pozzi*, *fosse*, and the older *camere* [354]. In the Bronze Age of the Swiss lake dwellers and in the terremare of Italy bronze bits, trappings, and chariot fragments have been discovered [355], and from the beginning of the Iron Age bits are of frequent occurrence in burials of Este and Bologna [356]. Bits for horses were found in the later *pozzi* of Falerii and Narce, and also in the inhumation tombs [357]. Capenate graves have produced examples in iron [358]. Bronze bits from Veii are on exhibition in the Villa Giulia. They also occur either in iron or in bronze at Tarquinii [359], Visentium [360], Volterra [361], Vulci [362].

Sometimes in the same graves where bits occur there are remains of chariots which appear to be common in seventh century burials [363]. Barnabei reports chariot fragments from some late *pozzi* of Narce, declares that they were quite common in *camere*, and maintains that a chariot was a regular part of the furniture of the later *fosse* (*con gran loculo sepolcrale*) [364]. At Mazzano, Camera No. LIII produced iron tires and the remains of wooden

plate in the Villa Giulia with a painting of a tame elephant does not show that the south Italians had domesticated those animals.

[354] Praeneste, *Bull. Comm.* 1898, page 199; Pitigliano, *Montelius*, plate 212. 3; Clusium, *o. c.* plate 215, 2. See also *Not. Sc.* 1903, page 273.

[355] Peet, *o. c.*, page 352; Ridgeway, *o. c.*, page 93.

[356] *Montelius*, plate 73, 8, 9.

[357] Villa Giulia Museum (No. 5701 from a *pozzo* of Corchiano); *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 397 f.

[358] *Mon. Ant.* XVI, col. 414.

[359] *Monumenti* X, plate X, d, 17-18.

[360] *Mon. Ant.* XXI, col. 480.

[361] *Montelius*, plate 171, 23.

[362] Gsell, *o. c.*, pages 299 ff.

[363] Gsell, *l. c.*; *Bull. Pal.* 1898, page 140, note 11.

[364] *Mon. Ant.* IV, cols. 166, 184, 397, 500.

wheels [365]. In Tombs XVI, XX, XXX, and LII at Capena were fragments of war chariots [366]. The first of these contained in addition a great supply of arms, including fifteen lance heads and three swords. Chariots are frequent in the orientalizing tombs of Veii [367], and elsewhere in Etruria are not rare [368]. That the same custom prevailed in Umbria we know from Città di Castello [369], Perugia [370], and Terni [371]; and on the Adriatic coast from Verruchio [372] near Rimini and from Ancona [373]. In Rome where early legends make the chariot a sign of high rank, fragments of one were found in the Esquiline tomb which contained a bronze shield of the type described above [374]. Remains of another chariot came to light in a *fossa* at Satricum [375]. By the seventh century Italian customs had become so complicated by cross-currents of foreign influence that only a minute study of all the cases known from that period could decide whether chariot burial as it was practised then was a native Umbrian development or the result of foreign contacts [376].

[365] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 351.

[366] *Idem*, 1905, page 311; *Mon. Ant.* XVI, cols. 413 f., 310.

[367] *Not. Sc.* 1919, pages 8, 12.

[368] Vetulonia, Falchi, *o. c.*, page 95; Populonia, *Not. Sc.* 1914, pages 411-18; 444-63; Caere, Dennis, *o. c.*, I, page 276.

[369] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 483.

[370] Monteleone chariot in New York.

[371] *Von Duhn*, page 198

[372] *O. c.* page 185.

[373] Dall'Osso, *o. c.*, plate facing page 36.

[374] Page 124; *Mon. Ant.* XV, cols. 146 ff.

[375] Mengarelli, *Congresso Internaz. di Scienze Storiche* V, II, page 273.

[376] The Scythian and Gallic examples of the custom are later than the Italian (6-4 centuries). Déchelette, *o. c.*, page 619; Ridgeway, *o. c.*, page 100; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, page 48.

VI.

THE SURVIVAL OF CREMATION.

THE predominant rite among the Faliscans during the seventh and sixth centuries was inhumation. This has often been pointed out and in fact the Faliscan territory is usually cited as one of the regions where inhumation began earliest and soonest gained complete control. However, inhumation was never used there to the exclusion of cremation and it is in this very district that we can trace most clearly the obstinate struggle of the old Italic custom for survival in the period between the Orientalizing Age and the time when the spread of Roman colonies brought reinforcements to the Italic side :— that is, between the beginning of the seventh and the latter half of the fourth centuries B. C.[1]. During the three hundred years and more which filled this interval there was, for reasons still unknown, a constantly strengthening tendency toward the use of inhumation. The neolithic inhabitants of the Faliscan district as elsewhere had probably buried their dead. Along the Adriatic coast we have definite evidence that the earlier people lived on

[1] *Von Duhn*, page 201. Antonielli's important articles on the Alban cemeteries in *Not. Sc.* 1924, 429 ff. and *Bull. Pal.* XLIV, 154 ff. reached me too late for use. It is also reported that he has found 9th century cremation tombs at Anzio, where inhumation was later the regular custom.

in prosperity, influenced by newcomers and exchanging ideas and products with them, but never overwhelmed and exterminated as their kinsfolk on the western side of the peninsula are usually supposed to have been [2]. Nearer than the Adriatic to the peoples in whom we are particularly interested, discoveries of scattered stations in the hills remind us from time to time of an ethnic element we are too prone to forget. Such for instance, is the hut village of Terni in Umbria [3]. The unfortunately scanty evidence in the Nepi-Sutri region where Stone Age traces are numerous furnishes no proof of continuous occupation through the beginning of the Iron Age and it is probable that the original barbarians disappeared from the lowland districts with the coming of the northerners. It is at least possible, however, that some of their kinsmen in the hills lived on to mingle with the invaders so as to modify their stock and customs to some extent. Another possible influence in favor of inhumation was contact with foreign traders — chiefly Phoenicians and Ionic Greeks — who used that rite. This has always seemed to me an improbable cause of change on any great scale. Besides the casual visits of traders there is the possibility of actual immigration of foreigners who settled first in the coastal towns of Etruria and eventually changed the cultural aspect of all central Italy. Whatever the answer to the riddle of Etruscan origins may be, they are in the days when we know them an inhuming people [4]. However, though they undoubtedly strengthened the tendency against cremation, their coming can not account for the earliest appearance of the two burial rites in Latium and

[2] Picenum, Valle della Vibrata.

[3] *Not. Sc.* 1914, pages 12-22, 26.

[4] For a good summary of the Etruscan question, see Randall-MacIver's conclusions in *Villanovans and early Etruscans*, page 258.

the inland districts of southern Etruria. Not one of the causes suggested for the change answers satisfactorily all the difficulties. Von Duhn's somewhat desperate solution of the problem is that a second wave of northern invaders, akin to the cremating Italici, brought with them the custom of inhumation [5]. This has the merit of removing some of the difficulties and may prove to be true. Archaeology has so far offered no definite evidence in its support.

Whatever the forces in favor of inhumation may have been, there was only one element in the population to carry on the rite of cremation. This was the vigorous and conservative body of descendants from the terramara folk and their kindred — the various related tribes who introduced the rite of cremation into northern Italy in the Bronze Age and eventually spread southward through Etruria and Latium. To these people I have applied the name of Italici which is commonly given them. The more restricted term Villanovans it seems better to reserve for one of the five branches of the Italici, a branch to which the Faliscans and Latins did not belong. The Iron Age burial of the Italici is known from half a hundred cemeteries in central Italy — a large enough number of sites to furnish fairly trustworthy information [6]. From town to town — and indeeed even within the limits of the same necropolis — there is considerable variation. The common factor is that the body is reduced to ashes and the ashes concealed underground in a pit. Apparently the Italici brought this custom with them when they entered the peninsula from the north during the Bronze

[5] *Italische Gräberkunde*, pages 437 ff.

[6] We have now practically a complete corpus of the material from Italic cemeteries in Von Duhn's *Italische Gräberkunde*, to which reference has already been made. Its value can not be overestimated.

Age [7], and the essential quality remained the same in the Age of Iron. "Examine a terramara cemetery and we find that nine out of ten ossuaries contain nothing but burnt bones and the ashes of the pyre. In other words, the deposition of objects with the remains was not a part of terramara ritual" [8]. Anything in addition to the urn and the ashes, then, represents at least an expansion of the original idea and perhaps contamination [9]. However, the original form has not been abandoned or changed in any essential way by additions of pottery or ornaments put in the grave. The first sign of the tendency to deposit offerings with the ashes is in the burial of personal ornaments inside the urn, and this is all in the way of accessories which we find in early Iron Age tombs like some of those at Pianello, Bologna, Monte Sant'Angelo, Anguillara, Veii, Vulci, Vetulonia, and Clusium [10]. In conservative districts and among the poorer part of the population the ancient simplicity would naturally be longest preserved. The survival, or perhaps revival, of the ancestral frugality in later times adds considerably to the difficulties in establishing statistics on the ratio of cremation to inhumation by rendering the tombs much easier to destroy without leaving a trace behind.

For it is true, in spite of the pressure against the custom, that we not only have actual cases of cremation burial throughout the period when the rite was comparatively unimportant, but that we have reasons for believing that many more burials of this kind have been destroy-

[7] Colini gives a bibliography on this subject in *Bull. Pal.* 1913, page 22.

[8] Peet, *o. c.*, pages 503, 343.

[9] The eneolithic rite apparently required a deposit of objects with the body; *Not. Sc.* 1918, pages 12 ff. (Pitigliano).

[10] *Von Duhn*, page 192; *Bull. Pal.* 1913, page 27.

ed without being recorded. The pit tomb is much more liable to this fate than the trench grave where in most cases some remnant of a skeleton or at least the disposition of the objects and the structure of the grave itself warn the chance discoverer of the nature of his find. Accidental destruction of *pozzi* is actually recorded from a number of places. At Monte Sant'Angelo the natural erosion of the hillside worked with agricultural operations to wipe out some of the graves and mutilate others [11]. Traces of destroyed cremation graves at Capena (a place where inhumation is decidedly dominant) are reported[12]. At Rignano a group of tombs all very near the surface were broken into by the plough and in part destroyed. Many of the objects they contained were probably lost [13]. The *Notizie degli Scavi* gives notice of cremation graves found at Terni and destroyed [14].

A pit tomb unlined with masonry as many were, would be difficult for anybody but an expert to recognize, and the fragments of an old clay pot which his ploughshare had broken, would arouse neither curiosity nor hope of gain in the mind of a peasant. The sherds would be tossed aside into a stone heap and forgotten quickly enough. The fact that in some of the poorest burials there was no ossuary whatever [15] makes the chance destruction of graves even more probable. The custom at Tarquinii was to wrap the ashes in cloth and fasten the mass with a fibula before putting it in the urn [16]. Cases where the ashes thus wrapped in linen were deposited in the bare

[11] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 72.
[12] *Bull. Pal.* 1913, pages 147 ff.
[13] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 266, note 1.
[14] 1886, page 10.
[15] *Von Duhn*, page 179.
[16] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 51.

ground are known from Norma [17], Caracupa [18], Terni [19], Verruchio near Rimini [20], Città di Castello [21], Capena [22]. Ashes laid on a tile and covered with two tiles placed tent-fashion over it, as in a later burial at Praeneste [23], would be almost as easily destroyed. Or the ash urn may have disintegrated under the pressure of the tomb filling and left its contents unprotected. This occurred at Vetralla [24] and may be what happened to a *pozzo* at Praeneste " con un fondo di carbone e di ossa cremate, fra cui furono raccolti dei frammenti di un vaso di bronzo ed un chiodo di ferro " [25]. Occasionally a popular report suggests that there has once existed in a neighborhood a deposit which has disappeared. Such rumors of course may be of no importance, but it rouses one's curiosity to hear that peasants in the neighborhood of Orte, for instance, where cremation was strong in late Etruscan times [26], have declared the discovery of buried jars full of ashes [27] ; or that there was in the Forum Boarium in Rome a spot called the Doliola which it was unlawful to pollute because earthen ware pots buried there contained remains of the dead or " quaedam religiosa " [28].

There is another chance of loss occasioned sometimes

[17] *Idem*, 1909, page 252.

[18] *Idem*, 1903, pages 293, 304, 311.

[19] Randall-MacIver, *o. c.*, page 68.

[20] *Von Duhn*, page 361.

[21] *Not. Sc.* 1902, pages 479-496.

[22] *Von Duhn*, page 386 ; *Bull. Pal.* 1913, page 148.

[23] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 139.

[24] *Idem*, 1914, page 314. " Le ceneri probabilmente si confusero tra il terriccio, e l'azione del tempo le distrusse completamente ".

[25] *Idem*, 1907, page 20.

[26] Dennis, *o. c.*, page 142.

[27] *Bull. Pal.* 1881, page 45.

[28] Varro, LL, V, 157 ; Festus, Epit. 69 ; Placid, 32.

by the form of the grave. Sometimes cremation burials — doubtless as a result of inhumation influence — are deposited in a *fossa* instead of the traditional *pozzo* [29]. Ash urns, or jars which have the form of them, are so commonly found as accessories of inhumation burial that the presence of an actual ossuary containing burned remains might be misinterpreted or ignored by the finder who would take it for granted that the skeleton had entirely disintegrated and so left the grave empty. The possibility of error is of course much greater in cases where the urn was in fragments when found. Gsell reports from Vulci ten *fossa* graves containing burned remains [30] and a similar case is reported from Tarquinii [31]. There are instances also at Città di Castello in Umbria [32], Vetralla [33], at Rome (Esquiline) [34], at Veii [35] and at Capena [36]. Sometimes when cremation burials are laid in trench graves the objects are disposed as if on the body, and the urn stands where the head of the skeleton would rest [37]. In case the urn was broken at the opening of the tomb it is easy to see how this might result in mistaking the burial for inhumation on the assumption that the skeleton had disintegrated.

Even more confusing are instances, of which there are several on record, where the two rites were used in one grave. At Marsiliana ossuaries filled with burnt bones

[29] Montelius, *Vorklass. Chronologie*, page 49, note.
[30] *O. c.*, pages 318, 348, 362.
[31] *Not. Sc.* 1888, page 183.
[32] *Idem*, 1902, page 483.
[33] *Idem*, 1914, page 314.
[34] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 181, Tomb CXII.
[35] *Not. Sc.* 1919, page 5.
[36] *Bull. Pal.* 1912.
[37] *Von Duhn*, page 197.

were found in trenches containing also inhumed bodies [38]. The same phenomenon appears in the Forum cemetery in Rome where cremated remains share a fossa with a skeleton [39]. At Capena in one corner of an inhumation grave there was a deposit of ashes with a bronze razor [40]. It is interesting to note how often the news of cremation in a *fossa* is greeted as a mistake in the report. So Von Duhn judges the notice of such a find from Poggio Montana [41]. Pigorini casts doubt on the cremation graves of Terni [42]. The official account of Visentium [43] says on Tomb No. 5, 5 that the finding of a modified Villanovan urn in an inhumation grave precludes the possibility that it contained ashes (Col. 441). A grave of Capena mysteriously vacant of signs of a human body is thought to have been opened and despoiled in antiquity, though it contained (in very small fragments) a Villanovan urn of copper [44].

In spite of all the influences working in favor of inhumation, and in spite of the chances against the survival of the fragile record of cremation burial, we have from several places a clear knowledge of the continuous use of cremation from earliest times until the spread of Roman control when the rite became much more general. Except for Clusium where cremation remained dominant through every age, the most important of all such regions is the Faliscan territory with the closely related domain

[38] Minto, *Marsiliana d'Albegna*, page 176.

[39] Tomba PP. *Not. Sc.* 1911, page 189, figs. 32, 31d.

[40] *Von Duhn*, page 386.

[41] *Jahrb. des Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1921, page 63; *Not. Sc.* 1914, pages 277-362.

[42] *Bull. Pal.* 1886, page 99.

[43] *Mon. Ant.* XXI.

[44] *Idem*, XVI, cols. 291-293.

of Veii. In both these districts inhumation became dominant at the very beginning of the orientalizing period [45]. Yet that the old-fashioned *pozzo* survived into the seventh century when the camera tomb was the prevailing style is well attested here and in many centers of the Italici. Imported vases characteristic of that period, or imitations of them, have been found in *pozzi* of Populonia [46], Vetralla [47], and Volterra [48]. From Falerii we have a seventh century bronze house urn now in the Villa Giulia, besides the knowledge of a series of *pozzi con loculi*, and fosse with burned remains, with typical seventh century equipment both in the Faliscan territory and in Veii [49].

After the seventh century cremation burial in *camere* containing inhumed bodies is not rare. The famous Regulini-Galassi tomb at Caere is a case in point. There were two inhumation burials of almost unparalleled richness, and in a side chamber was a cremation burial. The ossuary in impasto covered with a red slip and decorated with striations made in the wet clay with a stick recalls some of the Faliscan pottery, especially since the figure of a horse in full relief forms the handle of the rounded cover [50]. A similar mixture of rites existed in the Grotta Campana at Veii [51]. Other Veientine chamber tombs containing burials of both sorts cover the period between

[45] *Not. Sc.* 1919, page 5; *Mon. Ant.* IV, passim.

[46] Minto, *Populonia*, page 21.

[47] *Not. Sc.* 1914, page 356.

[48] *Mon. Ant.* VIII, cols. 143 ff. and 211; *Montelius*, plate 170.

[49] *Della Seta*, plate XXVI; *Not. Sc.* 1919, page 5; *Bull. Pal.* 1901, page 270.

[50] *Röm. Mitth.* 1907, pages 135 f.

[51] *Dennis*, o. c., I, page 39; *Gsell*, o. c., page 362, note 2; *Von Duhn*, page 390.

the seventh century and Roman times [52]. Falerii and Narce also show the same situation [53] and their neighbor Nepi where the oldest tombs we know are all of inhumation type introduces the rite of cremation side by side with the other in *camera* burials of the fourth century and later[54]. In Clusium the opposite is true. There the Italic element was apparently very firmly entrenched and the rite of incineration the only one in use until what seems for towns of Etruria a very late period [55]. But the hospitable camera there as elsewhere received both factions. The Pania tomb at Clusium contained a skeleton as well as ossuaries full of cremated bones [56]. At Volsinii a little farther down the Tiber inhumation was stronger, but a chamber tomb included with inhumation burials ash urns of bucchero with reliefs [57].

In the sixth century — that is, at the close of the orientalizing period — we have notices of more cremation graves, including one form which seems to have been invented at this epoch, and is the result of the influence of the chamber tomb. When the official excavation at Narce took place this type was not recognized as a distinct one and I think that Barnabei found one without realizing it in a tomb which he describes as an unfinished *camera* [58]: "Strada di accesso ad una tomba rimasta incompiuta come l'altra segnata col No. 16. Nel luogo della porta fu poi cavato un loculo che conteneva un os-

[52] *Not. Sc.* 1889, page 11 (R. F. vase as cinerary); page 30.
[53] *Idem*, 1907, pages 731 f; *Von Duhn*, page 379.
[54] *Not. Sc.* 1910, pages 201 ff.
[55] *Montelius*, text II, pages 946 ff.
[56] MacIver, *o. c.*, page 249.
[57] *Ann. Inst.* 1885, pages 5 ff.; *Not. Sc.* 1893, page 63.
[58] *Mon. Ant.* IV, col. 461, Tomb 19.

suario semplice di creta biancastra con manici orizzontali nel centro, tutto ripieno di ossa combuste ".

The first series of such tombs to be reported is that from Mazzano published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* 1902, where the description runs " tombe a corridoio " or " area sepolcrale con loculi per ossa combuste " [59]. The *area* is an uncovered space approached by an open corridor such as might easily be mistaken for the dromos leading to a *camera*. Niches in the sides of the *area* provided space for burials. In some cases the two rites are combined here as in the *camera* tombs. One *area sepolcrale* at Mazzano has on one side a niche large enough for inhumation and on the other, one of the proper dimensions to contain one ash urn [60]. The typical arrangement shows a quadrangular area with two to four niches, each containing one cinerary [61]. Signs of burning and layers of ash suggest that the area might have served as the crematorium. Some of the deposits had been disturbed, but even those apparently discovered intact showed a rigorous simplicity which recalls the primitive form of cremation burial. Sometimes nothing was found with the burnt bones in the urn. Others contained a clay spindle whorl or some other unpretentious trinket [62]. Cups of black varnished ware suggest a late date for Corridoio 91 [63]. An outfit more in the manner of inhumation burial occurs in Corridoio 69 [64] where the ash urn is of painted clay and other vases of similar ware or of eggshell bucchero accompany it. The *area sepolcrale* was a fairly

[59] E. g. page 620.
[60] *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 620.
[61] *Idem*, 1902, page 615.
[62] *Idem*, 1902, page 607.
[63] *Idem*, 1902, page 610.
[64] Page 601.

frequent form in Veii and its neighborhood where it dates usually in the sixth century B. C.[65]. That it lasted at least into the fifth century among the Faliscans is demonstrated by the discovery at Mazzano of such a tomb with a niche (intact) containing besides an ash urn in the form of a column crater, a cylix of free Red Figure style[66]. The latest burials probably belonged to the fourth century B. C.[67].

The use of the two rites in the same cemetery is of common occurrence, is found, in fact, in practically every Iron Age settlement of Central Italy. In most places the contamination comes early and we find *pozzi* and *fosse* of the eighth and seventh centuries side by side. This is the case at Tarquinii, Narce, Vulci, Bisentium, Vetulonia[68]; Populonia[69], Vetralla[70], Volterra[71], Terni[72], Veii[73], Rome[74], Satricum[75], etc., etc. One fact worth noting is that as a general rule cremation burial is the older

[65] *Not. Sc.* 1922, page 219.

[66] *Idem*, 1902, page 609.

[67] *Von Duhn*, page 379. Incineration in various types of tomb continued at the same time with the *area sepolcrale*. The Villa Giulia exhibits two stamnoi of Attic R. F. ware from fifth century cremation graves of Veii (Campagnano). (*Della Seta*, page 114). The survival of incineration at Veii is referred to by Von Duhn (*Jahrb.* 1921, page 71; *Italische Gräberkunde*, page 390). Tarquinii has preserved the record at least through the sixth century in the so-called *tombe a buca* in which Attic B. F. vases serve as ossuaries (*Not. Sc.* 1891, page 123; 1892, page 157).

[68] *Mon. Ant.* VIII, col. 211.

[69] Minto, *o. c.* page 16; *Not. Sc.* 1923, page 137.

[70] *Idem*, 1914, page 353.

[71] *Mon. Ant.* VIII, col 211.

[72] *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 597.

[73] *Idem*, 1919, page 5.

[74] *Mon. Ant.* XV, col. 274.

[75] *Not. Sc.* 1896, page 169.

form, but in nearly all these centers inhumation dominates in the seventh century and in some, remains the favorite form through the last years of the Republic when cremation had become popular again in other places.

Besides the actual remains we have echoes in Roman tradition of the double rite. The laws of the Twelve Tables take into account both kinds of burial although they favor the simplest form of the old Italic custom [76]. Numa, by giving instructions that he was to be buried and not cremated, furnishes evidence from the legendary period [77], while late in historical times Sulla the dictator broke a family tradition centuries old by having himself cremated [78].

Different scholars have drawn opposite conclusions from the same well-known facts. Some hold the opinion that the friendly juxtaposition of cremation and inhumation in the same places proves that the peoples using the two rites were the same. Von Duhn, on the contrary, and Peet, conclude that there is an important distinction and that a change in burial customs implies a change in the population [79].

The first shcool, which numbers among its followers a distinguished line of archaeologists and ethnologists (Gsell, Undset, Helbig, Martha, Pigorini, Pinza, Gabrici) maintain that the original race of cremating Italici changed their custom as a result of intercourse with people who practised inhumation. To some, those responsible for the conversion of the Italici from their ancestral rite are the Phoenicians (Helbig), and to others the Greeks (Gsell)[80].

[76] Piganiol, *o. c.*, page 11.
[77] Plutarch, *Numa* 22; *Von Duhn*, page 429.
[78] Cicero, *De Leg.* II, 56; Pliny, *N. H.*, VII, 187.
[79] Peet, *o. c.*, page 503.
[80] *Fouilles de Vulci*, page 323.

Gabrici even suggests that inhumation in Italy is to be traced through the neolithic people of southern Italy to the Mycenaeans [81]. The chief reason for supposing that the trench graves also are Italic seems to be that we find in *fossa* graves objects considered certain indication of Italic tradition, such as bronze semi-circular razors, wheel hair pins, biforal and horned handles. However, fashions in ornaments and utensils might easily — or even inevitably — shift as a result of alien influences by no means strong enough to change fundamental ideas on the meaning of death. While it is surprising to find a medley of two conflicting religions in one cemetery, it is less of a concession to the stranger to allow him to follow his own traditions than to settle the difficulty by adopting them. There is no set of customs harder to modify among any people than those which govern the proper disposition of the dead. If even in modern times family customs in this respect are broken only with the greatest difficulty, how much stronger would the force of tradition be in a primitive community where a neglected ritual would mean evil consequences to the living as well as outrage and misfortune for the dead. Human affection and superstition combine here to work against innovation, of which the primitive mind is distrustful even in less fundamental matters.

Nothing can better demonstrate the importance of the burial rite than the persistence of both forms when social pressure and expediency must have favored one rather than the other. It is well known that the dictator Sulla was the first member of the gens Cornelia to be cremated [82]. So the story has it and the discovery

[81] *Mon. Ant.* XXII, col. 441.
[82] Note 79.

of the Scipios' tomb full of inhumation burials in sarcophagi confirms it [83]. The attitude of Cicero and of Pliny (probably following him) is that the original custom was to bury, not to burn. " Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti. Terra condebantur. At postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere, tunc institutum. Et tamen multae familiae priscos servavere ritus, sicut in Cornelia nemo ante Sullam dictatorem traditur crematus idque voluisse veritum talionem eruto C. Mari cadavere ". They are apparently unaware of the honorable antiquity of cremation which is made clear enough to us by the Forum necropolis where the oldest graves are *pozzi*, and by the Alban cemeteries where cremation began even earlier and maintained itself as the dominant rite through the orientalizing period [84]. Vergil describes the two methods of disposing of the dead after a battle [85]. The most significant part of Pliny's comment is his statement that burial customs were a matter of family tradition and that members of a gens conscious of their unity and of their long history adhered to the inherited rite even when most of the community in which they lived observed a different practice.

If we admit that a change of rite implies a change of population we must face the question as to how the change occurred. There are two possibilities : one that another people invaded and conquered the country of the Italici and either exterminated or expelled the original settlers ; the other, that the Italic race became contaminated by and partly absorbed into some other people or peoples with whom they shared their villages. That the former

[83] *C. I. L.* I, page 11.
[84] *Bull. Comm.* 1885, page 46.
[85] *Aeneid* XI, 182-212.

is not the case in Central Italy is proved conclusively by the survival of the old rite through all the ages. On the other hand, we have every reason to suppose that the second alternative is what actually took place. The case is fairly clear in Latium at least, the only section for which we have any considerable body of tradition. If it is safe to say that there is any point of general agreement on the race question in Italy it is that there were in Latium from early times two strains whose fusion produced the Latin people. The legends of the Romans themselves give support to this view and the nature of the Forum necropolis supplies the most trustworthy evidence possible for the truth of their stories about the union of two peoples in their city. The burials there seem to show, not that the Prisci Latini were giving up one rite in favor of another, as Pigorini says [86], but that they had received into their community another element with other traditions. When two peoples thus unite in one center, though they may keep distinct for a while, it is inevitable that intermarriage will in time blur the line of demarcation between them, and highly probable that one strain will eventually absorb the other altogether. It was the improbable that came to pass in Rome. We can not be certain that in the seventh century the inhumation element was more numerous than the other in Latium and Etruria, but the evidence now available makes it seem that such was the case in nearly all the important towns. Places like Clusium and the Alban villages are striking exceptions to this rule. Yet in spite of their being outnumbered the singular inelasticity and stubbornness of the Italic mind made them preserve the ancient custom as long as their stock survived, and they even bequeathed it to others in a later

[86] *Bull. Pal.* 1911, page 168.

age when the strength of tradition was broken and economic conditions had more force than religious scruple.

It is far more difficult to decide who the people were who began to come into the Italic villages not long after the settlements were founded and to bring with them alien customs. In Rome the legends tell us they were the Sabines who joined with Romulus to make a double city. Old King Numa who gave orders that he be inhumed after the ancient fashion " ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur " was, according to tradition, a Sabine from the hills where inhumation was the rule. It is interesting to note here a suggestion of the contracted position of neolithic times. Von Duhn proposes that the gens Cornelia may also have been Sabine in origin [87]. In the Faliscan region where inhumation is strong there is a tradition of Sabine infiltration [88] which the geographic situation of the district makes not improbable. Unfortunately our knowledge of Sabine archaeology is too imperfect to be of much assistance in deciding the question. Dall' Osso's surprising statement that the Sabine used cremation[89] rests on the famous " cemetery " of Palombara-Sabina, two poverty-stricken graves situated very near the borders of the section where cremation was dominant. They seem slender support for a theory which contradicts all tradition. It is an unlucky chance that Tibur and other places in the hills have not produced earlier and fuller records.

The coming of the Etruscans who used inhumation is possibly the reason for the change in some places, but it is unlikely that they penetrated as early as the eighth

[87] Page 429.
[88] Servius, ad Aen. XI, 785.
[89] *O. c.* page XVI.

century [90] into the inland towns of the Faliscans, Veientines, and Latins where the rite begins to be prominent at that time. Though it is hard to account for the Etruscans except as immigrants from the east, it is equally hard to believe that great hordes of these foreigners arrived on the Etruscan coast at the same time and overran the country. They must have come in small detachments and insinuated themselves into the native settlements over which they soon gained a mastery, in spite of inferior numbers, more through a greater degree of intelligence and sophistication than by force. It is notable that the Etruscans on their first coming seem not, as Randall-MacIver says, to found new cities and " live and bury by themselves " [91], but in all cases enter well-established towns to become part of them and eventually to dominate them almost completely. They could hardly in the course of two or three generations have increased sufficiently to spread out in large numbers through all the towns of Etruria where the change of burial rite occurs, nor could they in that space of time have set the impress of their customs so indelibly on the indigenous population even of a few cities that the Italici of those places had become one people with them as eventually they did. It is only after the welding of the foreign strain with the native had become complete in the coast towns that Etruscan expansion inland would be a serious consideration. It is interesting to note that the greatest strongholds of the cremation rite are situated well inland [92] : Clusium, the Alban settlements, and to a smaller extent, Rome and the Faliscan and Veientine districts. The Etruscans did not

[90] Colini, *Bull. Pal.* 1915 ; Gsell *o. c.*, page 342.
[91] *O. c.*, page 6.
[92] *Von Duhn*, Map 8.

penetrate into Latium before the middle of the seventh century and probably not into Rome for a generation after that. As Von Duhn points out, there is no sign of them in Veii before the seventh century [93], and the comparative unimportance of their connection there is evident in the doubt which existed about Veii's membership in the league of twelve cities. Pitigliano is the only site claimed as Etruscan where no cremation burials preceding the Etruscan have been found [94], and even here apparently there was an eneolithic community, with perhaps some survivors still living there when the Etruscans arrived [95]. What the Etruscans did for the cause of inhumation was to make it aristocratic rather than to introduce it.

It is not to the Etruscans but to a people longer established in Italy that we must turn apparently for the explanation of the change of rite among the Italici of the Faliscan territory. With the Picenes of the Adriatic coast who are sometimes given credit for having colonized Etruria and Latium [96], the chronological relations are none too certain and the possessions both regions have in common might well be due to trade across the mountains. The indications of philology are that a people predominantly Italic were early established in the Umbrian and Sabine country. One possibility is that the "Sabellic" invaders were not numerous enough to overwhelm completely the neolithic inhabitants of the country they conquered, but were themselves enough affected by mingling with these to change their ancestral customs. Could this have happened to a people strong enough to impose their language on the district? There is here a

[93] Page 391.
[94] *Jahrb*, 1921, page 65.
[95] *Montelius*, text II, page 925.
[96] Piganiol, *Origines de Rome*, page 33.

serious difficulty. To meet it Von Duhn, after the most brilliant and complete exposition of the Italic rite ever written, and after a convincing defence of what Randall-MacIver calls " the sound axiom that primitive peoples are above all things tenacious of their burial customs ", brings forward the suggestion that the Sabellic invaders brought the custom of inhumation with them from beyond the Alps [97]. For this there is, as he realizes himself, no proof [98]. That no graves of this invading Sabellic horde have been found in the Veneto or Romagna he takes to mean that they found those regions already thickly settled and so hurried through them to less crowded districts farther south. Unfortunately the critical interior regions are, archaeologically speaking, almost a blank for the early period of the Iron Age when this important change must have taken place, if ever [99]. While so much of the hill country remains entirely unexplored scientifically, it seems unsafe to assume that the late Stone Age population either perished utterly at the coming of the Italici or withdrew even from the lands which would be least coveted by the invading agricultural people. Once more we are forced to admit ignorance and wait for some fortunate turn of spade or plough to demonstrate which if any of the explanations so far offered is the correct one.

[97] Page 439.

[98] Page 439, " dass das alles nur hypothetische Konstruktion ist ".

[99] The numbered stations on Von Duhn's maps are sometimes misleading unless compared carefully with the statements in his text which never overestimates the importance of any bit of evidence. Inhumation centers marked on the same map in the same way are widely separated chronologically and sometimes are located only on the strength of sporadic finds without the evidence of a single recorded burial to prove what the custom of the people may have been. See text references, for instance, on stations 524-530 which cover an important area.

If the Italici who used cremation were little likely to change their custom to imitate that of foreign traders or indigenous predecessors, it is probably true that the people who used inhumation were equally tenacious of their traditions. Randall-MacIver in a very useful recent work says convincingly at the beginning [100], " It is logically much sounder to maintain that the presence of two distinct burial rites proves the presence of two distinct peoples ", but later on [101], " That the Etruscans on all the other sites which have been examined in southern and coastal Etruria used cremation as well as inhumation I have carefully pointed out on each occasion ". Why should a people chiefly noted for a superstitious formalism in religious practice change so lightly what others cling to with fervent conviction? Graves may be of Etruscan period and may even contain Etruscan objects without Etruscan ashes. There are several reasons for supposing that Clusium for instance is a peculiar stronghold of the Italic element where any Etruscans who appeared would inevitably be absorbed into the people already there. No less than ten large cremation cemeteries are grouped around that one center and its name of Camars is probably pre-Etruscan [102]. The favorite pottery is bucchero, a distinctively Italic development. The region around the Trasimene Lake is in line with the descent which Von Duhn traces from Pianello into Etruria [103]. It was probably settled early and thickly by Italici who may later have been reinforced by their kindred who drifted back from the coast when customs not to their liking came into vogue there. The skeleton of the Pania tomb which Randall-

[100] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, page 6.
[101] *O. c.*, page 232.
[102] Piganiol, *o. c.*, page 21 ; *Von Duhn*, page 195.
[103] Page 195 and Map 8.

MacIver describes [104] may well be that of an Etruscan, while the ashes in the same tomb bear witness to the firm convictions of the Clusini.

Whoever the inhumation people were, we know that by the beginning of the seventh century they are sharing the towns and cemeteries of the Italic Faliscans. Naturally there would be an interchange of influence apparent in their tombs. In fact before they entered the Faliscan district at all the Italici had modified the original form of their rite far enough to deposit other grave furniture — chiefly pottery — with their ash urns [105]. *Fossa* tombs are in general richer and noticeably more warlike than *pozzi* [106], but the degree of difference varies with the place and date and especially with the presence or absence of the Etruscans. Among the Faliscans the *pozzo* survives so long that its form was modified to prevent the limitation of funeral offerings and the *pozzo con loculo* developed. This seems due to imitation of the *fossa con loculo* and is peculiar to this locality [107]. We have from Mazzano the notice of a cremated body in a little sarcophagus [108] which may be another indication of *fossa* influence. A more obvious kind of contamination is apparent in the cremation burials which are arranged in *fosse* exactly as the objects would have been disposed if the tombs contained inhumed bodies [109]. Pottery forms are naturally possessed in common by peoples living side by side in the same community. There is no more reason for arguing identity of race for

[104] Page 149.

[105] *Von Duhn*, pages 119 ff.

[106] Von Duhn, *Bull. Pal.* 1890, page 117; Galli, *Mon. Ant.* XXI, col. 461, etc., etc.

[107] Della Seta, *Italia Antica*, page 68.

[108] M. 9,76 × 0.36, *Not. Sc.* 1902, page 351.

[109] See note 37 and *Not. Sc.* 1907, page 51.

the early inhumers and crematers of the Ager Faliscus on this ground than there is for claiming the Picenes as Italic because the semi-circular razors are common in their graves [110].

The Faliscans then, like many of the peoples of Italy, were of mixed stock. Even the legends declare them a combination of "Siculi" with "Pelasgians" or "Argives" [111]. These fantastic tales are of no value except, perhaps, in preserving some echo of the true route by which part of the population entered the district in the story that the Pelasgian settlers sojourned for a while in the neighborhood of the Lacus Velinus north of Reate; and in showing that they were recognized as being distinct from the Etruscans under whose domination they soon came. Strabo (V. 2. 9.) shows that the ancients realized the difference in blood and speech between the ancient Faliscans and their overlords [112]. Though Livy (V. 8. 5.) calls them "populus Etruriae", and though in historical times they took sides with the Etruscans against Rome, the preservation of a language so close to the Latin makes it seem probable either that the Etruscan penetration of their territory was not early, or at any rate that the ascendency of Etruscan over Faliscan was a matter of political and economic domination which would not necessarily transform their stock or their customs.

From the fragmentary Stone Age remains all we can be sure of is that the Faliscan Territory was inhabited in neolithic times, and apparently inhabited by a people not differing in culture from those scattered all over the peninsula at the same time. The Bronze Age evidence is,

[110] Dall'Osso, *o. c.*, page 56.

[111] Deecke, *Die Falisker*, pages 12 ff.

[112] ἔνιοι δ'οὐ Τυρρηνούς φασι τοὺς Φαλερίους, ἀλλὰ Φαλίσκους, ἴδιον ἔθνος; τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους πόλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον.

if anything, still vaguer, but seems to indicate that no new people came to expel the hut and cave dwellers of the preceding epoch from their forest fringes. A sparse population lived on there with customs only partially modified by intercourse with the Bronze Age people of the south and east, and to a smaller extent with those great revolutionizers of the Po Valley whose influence is traceable in some degree in almost every nook and corner of Italy. A break comes with the Iron Age which begins comparatively late in the Ager Faliscus. We have no reason to suppose that the Italici here were very numerous or that they arrived earlier than the end of the ninth century B. C. but from that time we find established there a remnant of the same cremating folk who overran Etruria and Latium. There they came to crowd back with their cleared lands the edges of the Ciminian Forest, and to drive out or absorb their less civilized predecessors. After the ashes of a generation or two had been deposited to bear permanent testimony to what race it was that had occupied the land, a new element appeared among them, just as the Roman settlement was increased by a sudden influx after the cremating pioneers had broken the ground. The new people practise inhumation and are almost certainly of the same stock as those who appear at the same time and with the same custom in the Capenate region and in Latium. What their origin is we are still unable to say with certainty, but the suggestion of the legends that they are Sabine probably justifies the common assumption that they are in part at least akin to the original Italic invaders of the region, and that they came into their final homes from the hill country in the interior. The new element is more numerous than the cremating part of the population, and yet the latter are strong enough to affect the newcomers and to preserve their own burial

custom long after the intrusion of inhumation into the region. The two branches of the population share the same villages but the proportion is not the same in all centers. Mazzano, for instance, appears to have been a concentration point for the original cremating people. The best to which the combined settlements had access at first came to them from the Italic settlements along the coast of Etruria, and doubtless from the same intermediaries they obtained their first knowledge of foreign wares and the first beads and trinkets which show that eastern Mediterranean influences were penetrating into their seclusion. With the first coming of the Etruscans some influx of refugees from the coast probably strengthened the cremation element in the Faliscan and Veientine villages and may help to explain the very strong resemblances especially with Caere, and the number of late cremation burials in those regions. There are many marks of contact with Latium, to which, however, they were less closely bound than Capena was. It is also through the Capenates that their connections with Umbria and the Picene district were probably maintained. As the rise of the Etruscan power brought about changes in the coastal towns, corresponding changes came to the Faliscans, who though strongly affected by the Etruscans still maintained their distinct individuality. It is obvious that the Faliscans were not a poor people during the seventh and sixth centuries, but unless it is an accident that we have never discovered within their boundaries any such spectacular treasures as Caere and Praeneste show, their wealth was fairly evenly distributed. Their lands were fertile and their prosperous provincialism apparently followed an even course of increase up to the time when they fell before the power of Rome.

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6. Spheroid bowl with flaring rim. Page 87 (Type 7).
7. Bowl with ridged neck. Page 91.
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5. Rome, Esquiline, *Mon. Ant. XV*, plate viii. 5 (Spiral amphora).
6. Caere, Villa Giulia (Spiral amphora).
7. Veii, Louvre, Pottier catalogue, plate XXV, C, p. 551 (Spiral amphora).
8. Satricum, Villa Giulia (Spiral amphora).
9. Gabii, Villa Giulia, *Mon. Ant. XV*, fig. 142i (Spiral amphora).

10. Rome, Esquiline, Conservatori Museum, *Mon. Ant. XV*, plate viii, 13 (Spiral amphora).
11. Capena, Museo Preistorico (Spiral amphora).
12. Capena, Villa Giulia 4887.
13. Capena, Villa Giulia (Spiral amphora).
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15. Rome, Forum, *Mon. Ant. XV*, fig. 120 k; Montelius, plate 356,9, (Spiral amphora).
16. Falerii, Villa Giulia (Spiral amphora).
17. Rome, Forum, *Mon. Ant. XV*, fig. 124 b (Spiral amphora).
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2. » » » 138.23. Cp. *Mon. Ant. XV*, plate xxii, 12.
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4. Falerii, Villa Giulia, Montelius 310,6.
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6. Alban Hills, Montelius 138,24.
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1. Dots made with a blunt point.
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   Falerii, Villa Giulia 3349.
2. Dots made with a blunt point.
   Veii, Museo Preistorico 68080.
   Narce, Villa Giulia.
3. Dots made with a sharp point.
   Veii, Villa Giulia.
4. Dots made with a sharp point.
   Narce, Villa Giulia 5027.
   Falerii, Villa Giulia 707.

5. Incised lines.
   Satricum, Villa Giulia (2 examples).
6. Incised branch.
   Narce, Villa Giulia 5120.
7. Incised circle pattern.
   Narce, Villa Giulia 4991.
   Castelnuovo di Porto, Villa Giulia 26703.
8. Circle pattern and dots made with a sharp point.
   Veii, Louvre, Pottier Catalogue, plate XXV, C, p. 551.
9. Rosette pattern of impressed dots.
   Narce, Villa Giulia 4889.
10. Circle pattern with four segments filled with wavy lines.
    Narce, Villa Giulia 5121.
11. Impressed circle surrounded by dots made with a sharp point;
    Caere, Villa Giulia; Falerii, Villa Giulia 3492.
12. Incised rosette.
    Rome, Conservatori Museum, *Mon. Ant. XV*, plate viii, 3.
13. Incised rosette.
    Falerii, Villa Giulia, Sala di Venere (2 examples).
14. Incised palmette.
    Tarquinii, Montelius, plate 295,8.
15. Incised palmette.
    Capena, Museo Preistorico, Case 20; Satricum, Villa Giulia.
16. Incised chevron.
    Veii, Museo Preistorico 67996; Rome, Conservatori Museum; Narce, Villa Giulia 4632, 4492, 4996; Falerii, British Museum Vases H. 87; Corchiano, Villa Giulia; Trevignano, *Not. Sc.* 1911, page 248; Marino, Museo Preistorico 63450.
17. Incised chevron with impressed dots.
    Veii, Museo Preistorico.
18. Chevron with impressed dots.
    Veii, Museo Preistorico 67996.
19. Falerii, Villa Giulia 705.
20. Falerii, Villa Giulia, T. xlviii.
21. Capena, Villa Giulia.
22. Caere, Villa Giulia 22343.
23. Narce, Villa Giulia 4995, Montelius, plate 326,7.
24. Narce, Villa Giulia 5089.
25. Trevignano, *Not. Sc.* 1911, page 248, fig. 2.
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» 2. Type 3, p. 53. Univ. Museum, Philadephia, No. 1226 (from Narce).

» 3. Cup decorated with bronze disks; Univ. Mus. No. 862. See p. 55, type 7, and p. 57.

» 4. Cross-section of rock-cut tomb with chimney entrance (near Falerii); p. 63.

» 5. Situla painted red on buff, p. 77 and 80; Univ. Mus. No. 1256 (Narce).

» 6. Copper-red bowl with stand; p. 79, 87 (types 8 and 9); Univ. Mus. 1113 and 1114.

» 7. Bucchero chalice with figurines; p. 84, type 1, and p. 114; Univ. Mus. 560A (Narce).

» 8. Dark impasto skyphos with incised bird, lines and punteggiatura filled with white; p. 84, type 2, and p. 107; Univ. Mus. No. 2751 (Narce).

» 9. Cantharus of chestnut-brown ware with rams' head handles, p. 85, type 3; Univ. Mus. 2734 (Narce).

» 10. Spiral amphora with typical decoration and bird; p. 86, type 5; Univ. Mus. 2736 (Narce).

» 11. Unusual twisted handle; spiral amphora with horse substituted for spiral; Univ. Mus. 935 (Narce).

» 12. Spiral amphora with substitute decoration; p. 95; Univ. Mus. 1264 (Narce).

» 13. Spiral amphora with typical decoration; Univ. Mus. 2738 (Narce).

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» 17. Bronze bulla; p. 119; Univ. Mus. 1044 (Narce).

» 18. Impasto hydria painted red on buff slip; p. 82, 105; Univ. Mus. (Narce).

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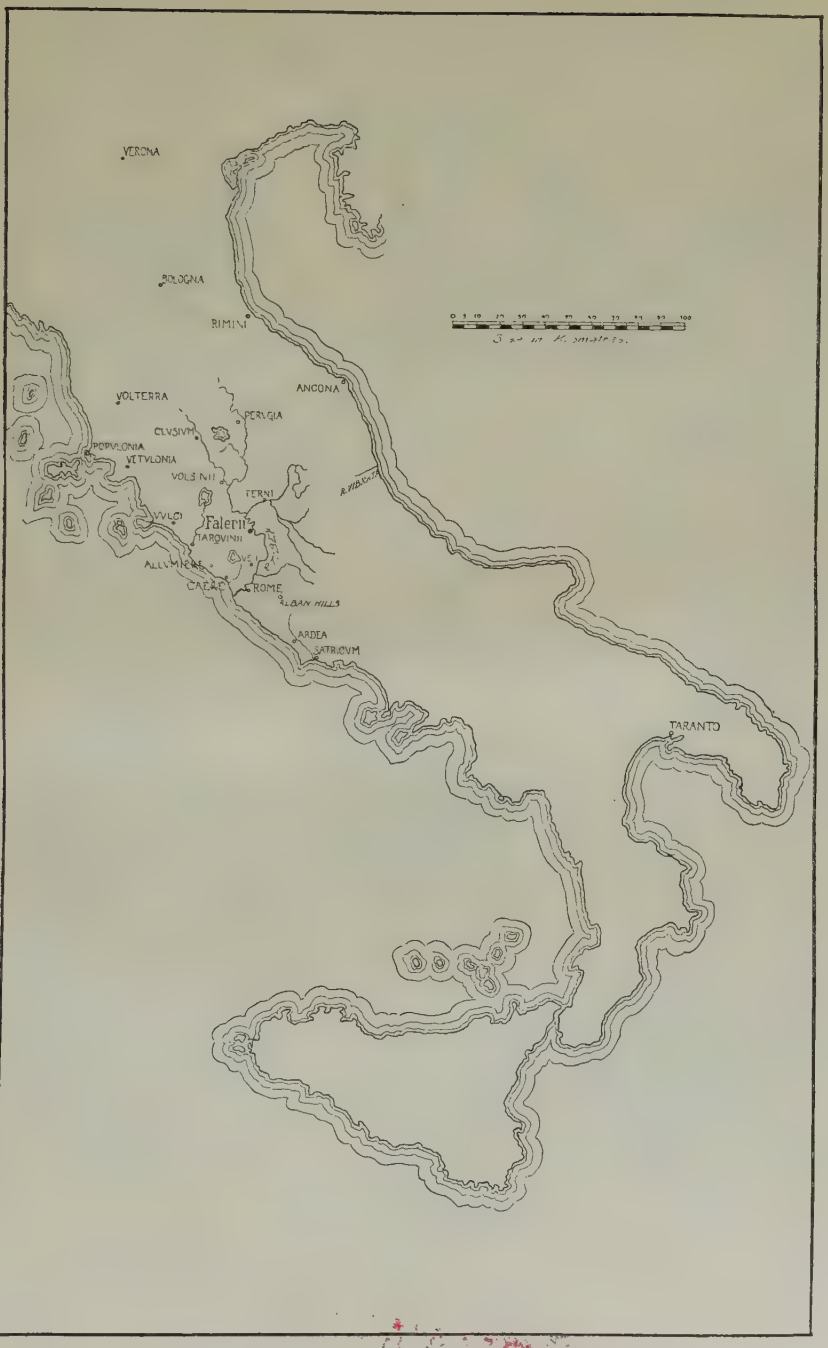
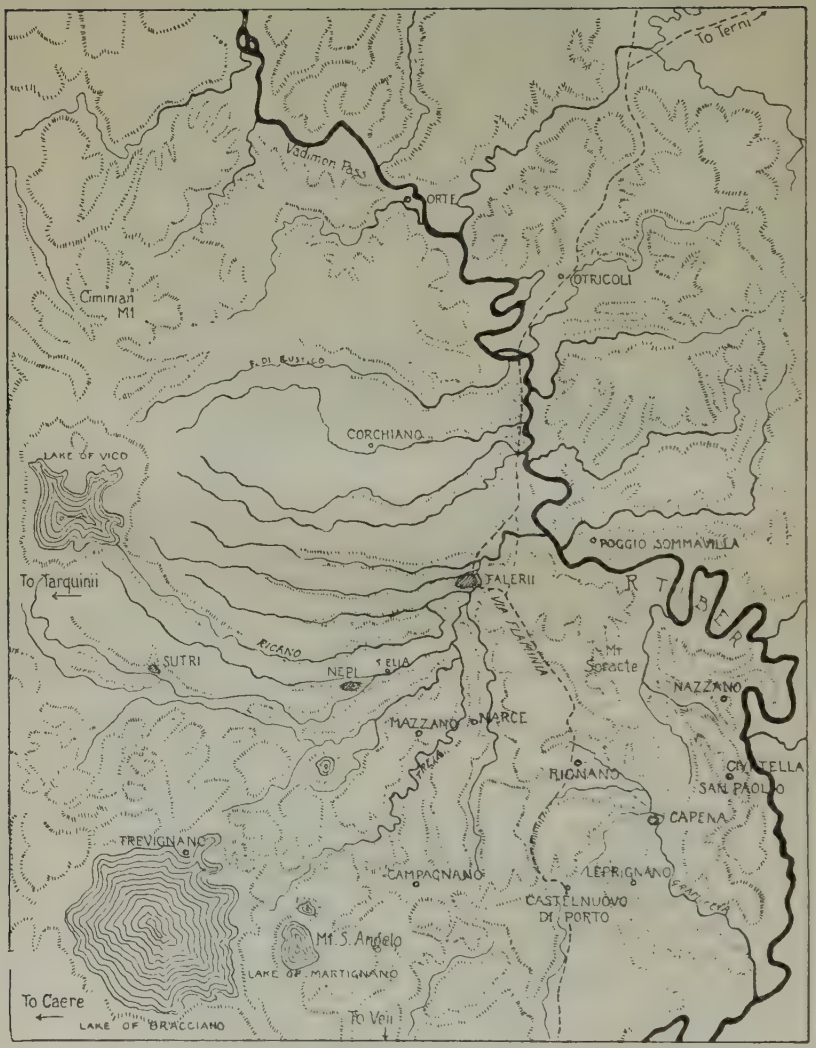
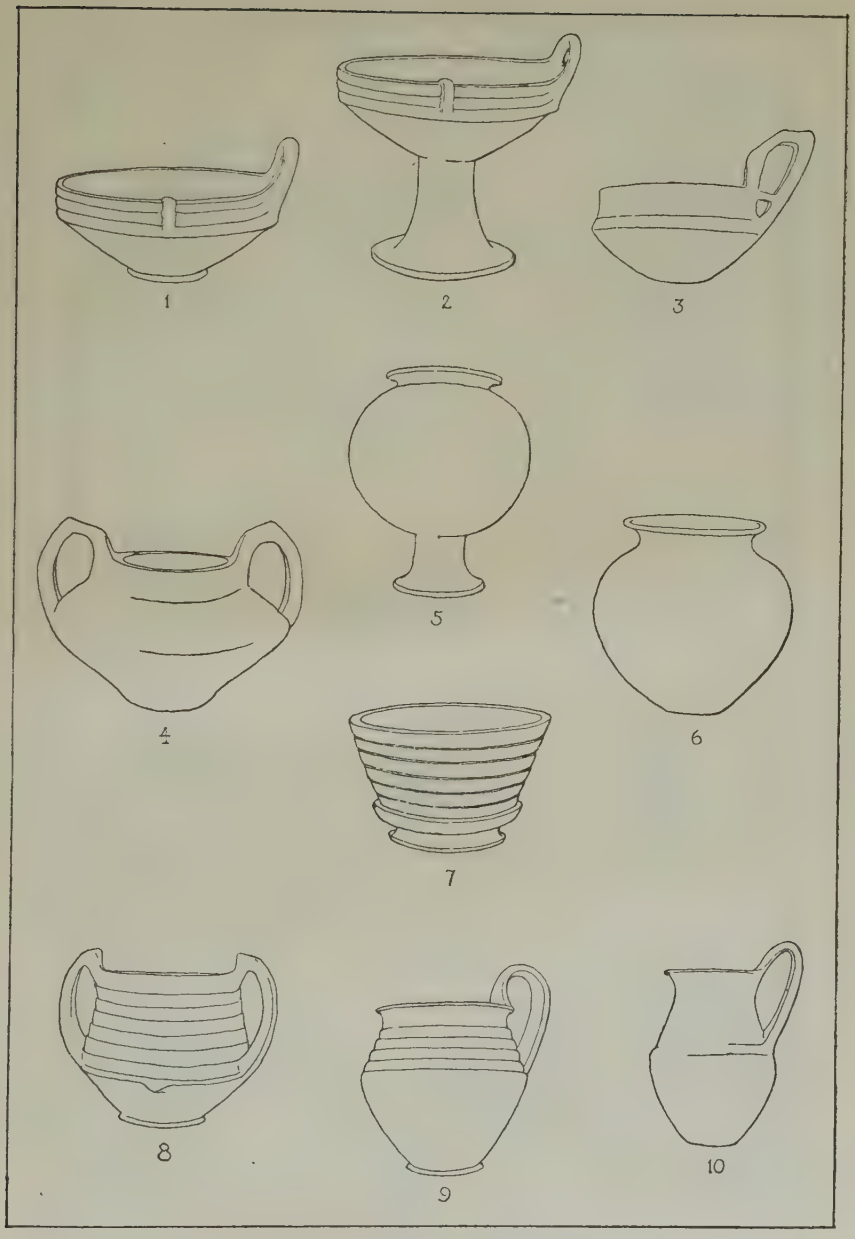


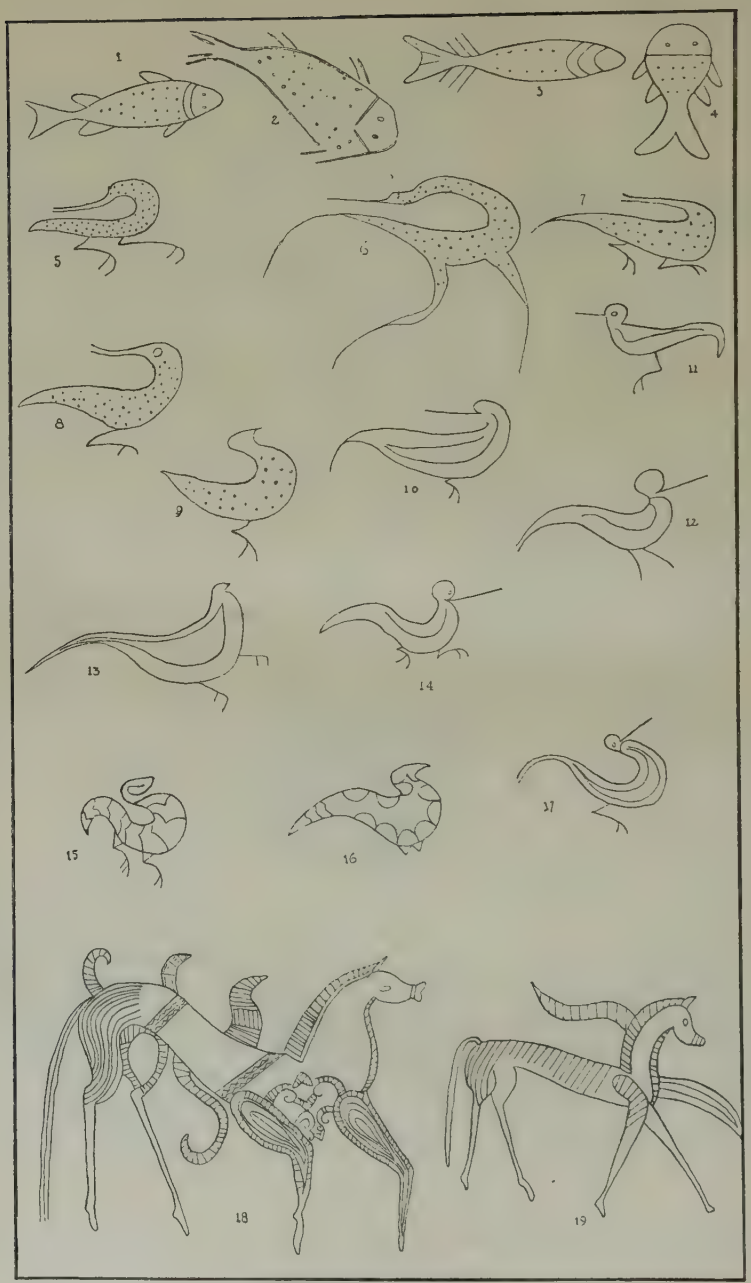
Map of Italy showing position of Faliscan territory.



Map of Faliscan territory.



Faliscan pottery types.



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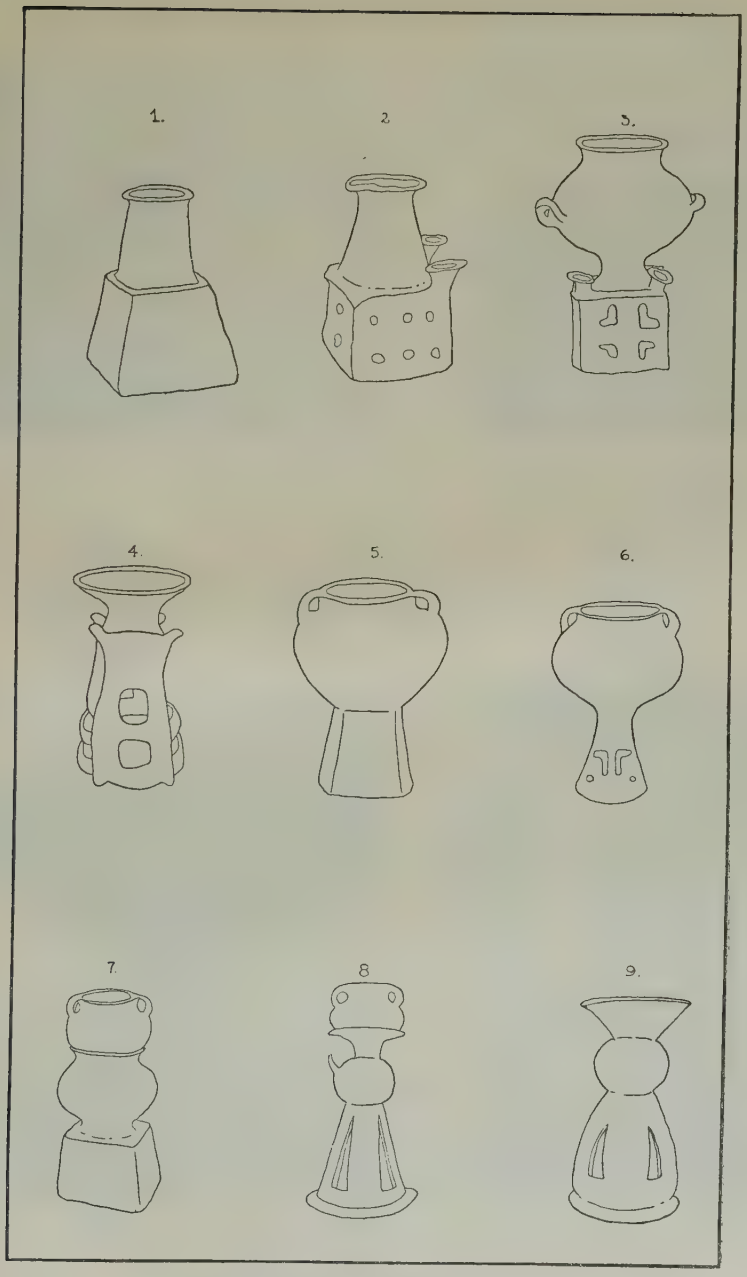
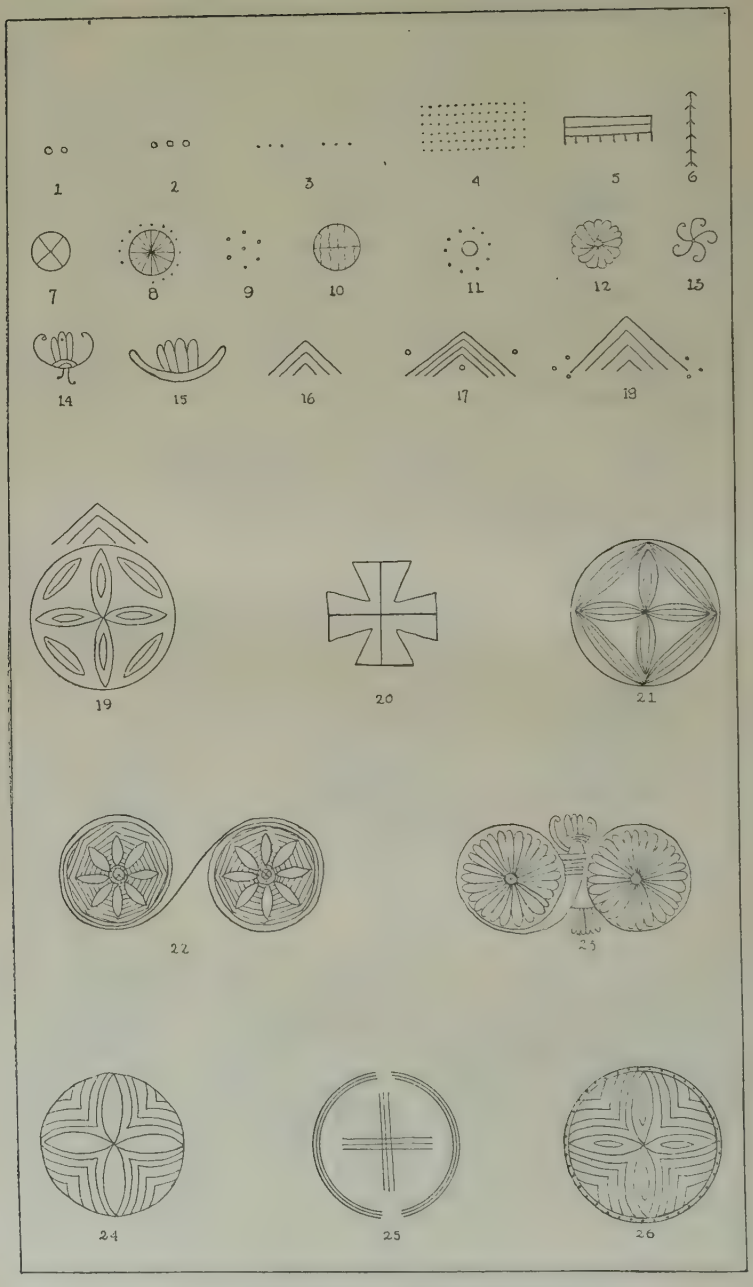


Forms of braziers and supports for vases.



Accessory ornaments on spiral amphorae.

Fig. 1, Page 46 - Rock-cut chamber, St. Elia.

Fig. 3, Page 55 - Bronze decoration *Univ. Mus* 862.

Fig. 2, Page 53 - Type 3 - *Univ. Mus.* 1226.

Fig. 4, Page 63 - Rock-cut tomb, Falerii.

Fig. 5, Page 77 - Situla, red on buff - *Univ. M.* 1256.

Fig. 6, Page 79 - Bowl and stand - *Univ. Mus.* 1113.

Fig. 9, Page 85 - Cantharus, rams' head handles - *Univ. M.* 2734.

Fig. 7, Page 84 - Bucchero chalice.
Univ. M. 560.

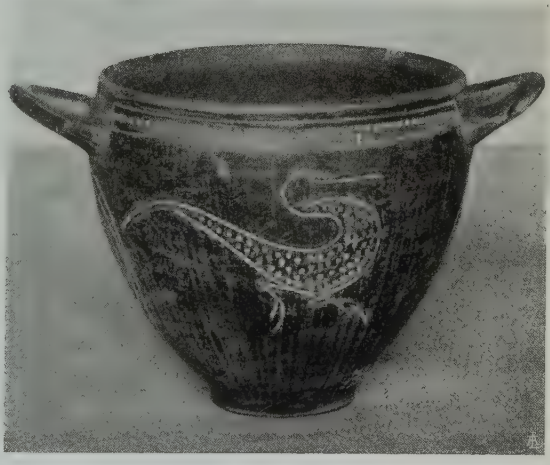


Fig. 8, Page 84 - Impasto skyphos
Univ. M. 2751, Narce.

Fig 10, page 86 - Spiral amphora - *Univ. M.* 2736.

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Fig. 12, Page 95 - Spiral amphora
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Fig. 13, Page 95 - Spiral amphora
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Fig. 14, Page 86 - Impasto plate - *Univ. M.* 964. Narce.

Fig. 16, Page 110 - Brown impasto - *Univ. M.* Narce.

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Fig. 15, Page 87 *f.* - Copper-red bowl - *Univ. M.* 931.

Fig. 18, Page 82 - Impasto hydria - *Univ. M.* Narce.

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